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VEDIC VARIANTS

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AND
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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated Mantras of the Veda

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Volume III

NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

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PREFACE

This third volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS deals with the inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns The general plan and purposes of the VEDIC VARIANTS series have been set forth in the preface to Volume 1, The Verb (1930) Volume 2, Phonetics, appeared in 1932

Except for a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials, Bloomfield's relation to this volume does not go beyond the formulation of the original project On the other hand, I have had the benefit of active assistanee from my friend and pupil Dr Murray B Emeneau, who supplemented Bloomfield's lists of materials by extensive additions of his own collectanea, and prepared a preliminary draft of the entire book I hope that it may be possible for him to continue this cooperation in future volumes of the series, this volume has benefited greatly *by his industry and acumen I have, however, worked over the entire* book in the most intimate way, and the responsibility for its final form is wholly mine

During correction of the proof, we received Hanns Oertel's valuable monograph, "Zur Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā" (SBBAW ph -h Abt , 1934, Heft 6) We felt able to make only the most important additions from its materials, these are indicated by references to "Oertel" followed by a page-number They include all appropriate variants not previously noted by us

The publication of this volume, as of its predecessors, has been made possible by the very generous financial aid of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA and of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, to both of which we are deeply grateful

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The standard abbreviations used in this volume are the same as in its predecessors VV = Vedic Variants, the numerals 1 and 2 after VV refer to the first and second volumes Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Concordance *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*

The asterisk * indicates a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in that same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute, that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance

FIRST PART FORMAL VARIANTS

CHAPTERS II–X

CHAPTER II

DUALS IN *AU* AND *Ā*, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

§127 We do not include here, of course, variations in which *āv* varies with *ā* followed by hiatus before a vowel, since these are variant sandhi forms, both standing for *au*, on them see VV 2 §§885 ff We treat here as *ā* forms before vowels only those in which *ā* is fused with the following vowel

§128 In the RV in general, and especially in its oldest parts, *ā* is found before consonants and in pause, *au* before vowels Contrast §221 below, in the locative of *i* stems *au*, not *ā*, is regular in pause Before *u* vowels this *au* is represented in the RV by *ā*, before other vowels by *āv* (for the usage of other schools see VV 2 1 c) We divide our materials into the two classes of (1) *au ā* before consonants and in pause, (2) before vowels See most recently Wackernagel 3 p 45 ff , and for the primary materials Lanman *NI* 340 ff , 574 ff , also Sommer, *Festschrift Streitberg*, 253 ff , where ingenious attempts are made to explain the cases of 'irregular' *ā* before vowels

§129 In a couple of cases the following word varies, so that *ā* is followed by a consonant, *au* (*āv*) by a vowel, in accordance with the original distinction

tasyām suparnāv adhi yau nivişţau TB ApŚ *tasyām suparnā vŗşanā ni şedatuh* RV

abhayam mitrāvarunāv ihāstu nah (AG °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV AG

§130 Flagrantly at variance with the rule is the double case in the next variant, which also changes the word after *aśvinā* (°*nau*), but this time *aśvinau* occurs before a consonant, and that in RV itself (to be sure in a late hymn, 10 184 2c), while AV has the *ā* form before a vowel—both contrary to the rule Furthermore RV ends the pāda with *devau*, instead of regular *devā*, and is followed by all later texts (two substituting *ubhau*) except AV , which introduces the regular *ubhā* (Hence, possibly, the assimilatory change in the ending of the preceding word in AV , whose meter suggests a pronunciation with hiatus, *aśvinā ubhā*)

garbham te aśvinau devau (AV *aśvinobhā*, PG HG *aśvināv ubhau*) RV AV ŚB BṛhU SMB ApMB HG MG PG *garbham yonyām aśvināsyām* AVPpp 13 2 4c (Barret, *JAOS* 48 38)

§131 The remaining cases require little individual comment Almost all show the ending before consonants or in pause Final position in the pāda is always treated as 'pause', *ā* is here regular even when the next pāda begins with a vowel, with which the final *ā* is fused in the samhitā writing The *ā* form characterizes the RV and its school texts, KS also shows it in most of the variants, but there are exceptions The cases before consonants and in pause which concern RV , besides those above mentioned, are

caturakṣau pathirakṣī (AV *pathiṣadī*) *nṛcakṣasau* (AV TA °*sā*) RV AV TA This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV variants It is noted by Lanman 576 The hymn (10 14) containing it is Atharvanic (rather than 'late'), yet, curiously, the AV itself (supported by TA) has the 'regular' form Note that all three texts are irregular in the preceding *caturakṣau* Dissimilation or assimilation of ending as between these two words? Even tho the hymn belongs by its subject matter to AV rather than to RV , the RV form is, a priori, more apt to be original, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 124

ubhobhayāvinn upa dhehi daṇṣṭrā (AV °*nau*) RV AV

yo akṣeneva cakriyā (SV °*yau*) *sacībhiḥ* RV SV TB

dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā (AV °*nau*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚŚ

somam pibatam madyam dhṛtavratā (AV GB °*tau*) RV AV GB

uto te vṛṣanā (ArS *haritau*) *harī* RV ArS

yajñasya hi stha ṛtviyā (TS ApŚ *ṛtviyau*) RV SV KS PB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

ubhā rājānā (AV °*nau*) *svadhayā madantā* (AV °*tau*) RV AV MS

prātaryujā vi bodhaya RV TB AŚ N *prātaryujau vi mucyethām* TS

ā dhattām (RVKh Scheft °*tam*) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV RVKh Scheft AV ApMB MG °*jā*) RV RVKh AV ŚB TA MahānU BṛhU AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG *kṛnutam puṣkarasrajā* AVPpp 3 18 5 (Barret, *JAOS* 32 364) Add to VV 1 §332

dyaus ca nah (KS TB *tvā*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* RV KS TB *dyaus ca ma idam pṛthivī ca pracetasau* AV

māduṣkṛtau vyenasā (AV °*sau*) RV AV AVPpp Note preceding °*kṛtau* in all!

asvinā (ApMB °*nau*) *tvā pra vahatām rathena* RV AV ApMB

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB HG MG *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB BṛhU

§132. Next some cases before consonants or in pause which concern AV In the first group AV , either alone or with others, has the *au*

form, we just saw that in several cases where RV has *ā*, AV has *au*

tā no muñcatam āgasah TS MS *tau no muñcatam anhasah* (TS KS *āgasah*) AV TS KS

ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛnasva VS TS ŠB *hastau pṛnasva bahubhir vasavyaih* AV TS MS KS

vītho ghṛtasya guhyā juṣānā (AV *°nau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŠŚ

dame-dame suṣṭutīr (AV KS *suṣṭutyā*, TS *suṣṭutīr*, MS *°tī*) *vām iyānā* (TS MS KS *vāvṛdhānā*, AV *vavṛdhānau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŠŚ On *vām iyānā* see VV 2 §236

yā (AV *yau*) *patyete apratītā* (AV *°tau*) *sahobhih* AV VS MS SB ŠB TB AŚ ŠŚ

§133 Yet, contrariwise, AV occasionally shows *ā*

chandasvatī (AV *chandahpakṣe*) *usasā* (MS KS *°sau*) *pepiśāne* AV TS MS KS ApMB

And, in the same verse

ketumatī (TS ApMB *ketum kṛnvāne*) *ajare bhūriretasā* (MS *°sau*) AV TS MS KS ApMB

ya indrāgnī asanam sakhāyau KS *yo agnīṣomāv ajuṣe sakhāyā* AV

§134 In the rest neither RV nor AV figures KS and the RV school texts seem to favor *ā*

ukhyasya ketum prathamam juṣāṇau (KS † KapS *°nā*) VS MS KS KapS 25 1, ŠB Oertel 83

imān me (ApŠ *no*) *mitrāvarunau* (ApŠ *°nā*) MS KS AŚ ApŠ MŚ ŠG

nirastā śandāmarkau saha tena yam dviṣmah KS *nirastau śandāmarkau sahāmunā* ApŠ

apanuttau (KS *°ttā*) *sandāmarkau* (MS *ṣand°*) *saha* MS KS *apanuttau śandāmarkau sahāmunā* TS TB ApŠ

devā (VS *devau*) *devam avardhatām* VS TB

śubham gamiṣṭhau (KS *°thā*) *suyamebhir aśvaih* (KS † *asubhih*) TS MS KS TB

aṅkau nyaṅkāv (PB LŚ *aṅkā nyaṅkā*, MŚ MG *aṅkā nyaṅkāv*) *abhito ratham yau* (MG *ye*) TS TB PB MŚ HG PG MG ApMB LŚ ApŠ

samyagmānau (KS *°nā*) *divā* (TB ApŠ *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* MS KS TB ApŠ MŚ

yathāyatham nau tanvau (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* MS AŚ MŚ In MŚ phonetic corruption, see VV 2 §410

sudughe mātarā (TB *°rau*) *mahī* VS TB

indravantā (TB *°tau*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB ŠŚ

sam vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) *svarvidā* (TS *suvar°*, KS *°vidau*) VS TS MS KS ŠB

hotā yakṣad aśvinā (VS KŚ °*nau*) *chāgasya haviṣa* VS KŚ KS
hotā yakṣad aśvinau (KS °*nā*) *chāgasya vapāyā* VS KS
hotā yakṣad aśvinau (TB °*nā*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB
hotā yakṣad aśvinā (MS °*nau*) *sarasvatīm* MS KS AŚ ŚS

§135 The following do not properly belong here

[*gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā* (VS *nāsatyā*, followed without fusion by *aśvāvad*) RV VS AŚ The VS comm understands *nāsatyā*, not °*yau*, if *au* were intended, *āv* should stand by the VS rule, see VV 2 §885 There is no real variant here, VS writes more accurately what RV also intends, namely final *ā*]

[*imā* (ApŚ *imau*) *prānāpānau* TB ApŚ But Poona ed of TB *imau*, which is proved correct by ApŚ which quotes TB]

[*urvaśī ca pūrvacittiś cāpsarasau* (VSK MS KS °*sā*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

Followed by a vowel, all texts *āv* or *ā* intending *au* Add to VV 2 §888]

[*kaṇī devau pracetasau* (VSK °*sā*) VS VSK TB As preceding, add to 1 c]

§136 We come now to the few sporadic cases in which *āv* (for *ā*) before a vowel, which is the rule in RV , varies with *ā* which fuses with the following vowel They add nothing to our knowledge and permit no general conclusions

śunāsīreha sma me juṣethām AV (pratīka Vait) *sunāsīrāv imām vācam juṣethām* (TA om *ju*°) RV TA AŚ ŚŚ N The AV seems to be 'hifalutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong

uṣāsānaktāgnā (KS AŚ °*gna*, ŚŚ °*naktā agna*) *āyuṣya vītām* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ And in the same passage, *daivyā hotārāgnā* (°*gna*, °*hotārā agna*), etc The ŚŚ form (RV school) should be *āv*, not *ā* (VV 2 §885) No v l is quoted If the text is correct, possibly ŚŚ quoted from a different school (note that the mantra is found neither in RV nor in its Brāhmanas) The other alternative would be to hold that ŚŚ intends the ending *ā*, not *au*, and shows anomalous lack of sandhi

daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS *hotārā ūrdhvam*, KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS *hotārā ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* VS TS MS KS *daivā hotāra ūrdhvam* (Ppp *hotārā imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* AV Ppp The AV form is plural Ppp ms (9 1 8) reads *hotāra* but intends °*rā* since a dual verb follows All texts but KS have sandhi forms of °*rau*

aśvināūdhvaryū MS TA *aśvināv adhvaryū* ŚŚ (Also quoted in Conc under *agnir hotāśvinā*°)

[*añkāñkam* (KS *añkañkam*, MS *añkāvañkam*) *chandah* TS VS MS KS ŚB Only MS seems to understand a dual *añkau* here, if *añkāñkam* is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā* must be understood Even MS has only one accent, *añkāvañkám*, tho one ms has *áñkāv áñkam*, and p p analyzes *añkau*, *añkám* These forms are however probably mere corruptions, the presumption is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter here found is meant for a single word The variant therefore hardly belongs here]

CHAPTER III

FEM ENDINGS *AI* AND *ĀS* AS DAT OR GEN (ABL) SING

§137 On this phenomenon see Wackernagel 3 §15d According to him it originates exclusively, or almost so, from the coincidence of sandhi in final *ai* and *ās* before vowels, both appearing then as *ā*, or perhaps more properly as *āy* with 'Hiatustilger' *y* Wackernagel refuses to admit any important relation to the increasing blend between dat and gen cases as a whole, which becomes especially marked in later Sanskrit and in Pāli-Prakrit This blend, in general, is signalized by the genitive's absorption of the functions of the dative, while our phenomenon regularly shows the reverse The limitation of its occurrence, on a large scale, to one particular ending (e g fem datives in *aye* show no such general use as genitives) speaks for the peculiar nature of the confusion, as contrasted with any general tendency to fusion of the two cases It should also be noted that the *ai* forms clearly, tho less commonly, may be used as ablatives no less than as genitives We therefore feel with Wackernagel that a formal confusion, probably that suggested by him, must have been concerned in this matter

§138 Yet we greatly doubt whether it is right to exclude the syntactic relations of the genitive and dative cases so largely from consideration We shall show below (§§151–2) that *ās* forms are used as datives, as well as *ai* forms as genitives, this has not heretofore received due attention And we shall show later (§§614 ff) that the blend of dative and genitive, especially the use of gen forms in dat function (but also to some extent the reverse), appears quite clearly in our syntactic variants, and without limitation to any particular forms Some of the *ai* *ās* variations seem precisely parallel to variations between other dat-gen forms To separate them rigidly and regard one group as purely formal, the other as syntactic, seems subjective and unjustifiable Cf our remarks in §615

§139 We shall therefore follow tradition to the extent of classifying here, as purely formal variants, shifts between *ai* and *ās* endings where the most reasonable interpretation seems to require taking them in the same syntactic function That is, in the major group, the form in *ai* is apparently to be taken as a gen or an abl And in the rest, we

find it hard to avoid assuming the reverse substitution, *ās* with dative function These are listed §152, we believe that they have not been specifically noted before In connection with them particularly, however, the possibility of syntactic rather than formal confusion must be borne in mind, quite similar instances of other gen forms with dat functions will be found below in the section on variations between dative and genitive Inevitably there are some borderline cases which are especially doubtful, in the last analysis all the variants found here and in the syntactic section on dative varying with genitive must be considered together

§140 We include here pronominal as well as nominal forms, since they are obviously identical in nature and cannot be separated

§141 The substitution occurs in no RV, SV, or AV passage It shows a varying frequency in the YV texts VS shows it in about 20 variants, more than any other texts, very often VSK disagrees with VS TS has about 15 cases, KS only one, and MS perhaps no entirely certain case The school texts of VS and TS follow their samhitās In general, then, it is the Vāj and Tait schools where the change is common They also show the reverse change (*ās* in dative function), which is rare, almost unknown, in MS and KS Our results confirm the approximate correctness of Caland's view, *AO* 5 49–51, notably his statement that MS KS do not use *ai* for *ās*, but KSA has at least one case, *adityai pājasyam*, §143 That VSK regularly prefers *ās* accords with Caland's findings for ŚBK It is perhaps noteworthy that it is the relatively late and secondary YV schools which show this interchange in both directions, whereas the more conservative MS and KS do not favor it

§142 We begin with forms used in genitive function The following are noun forms from *ā* stems, and seem reasonably certain

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā (KŚ °*yai*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat' Also, *agnīṣomābhyām chāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB

ukhāyāh (TS °*yai*, MS KS °*yām*) *sadane sve* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam* 'Within the firepan, in thine own seat' The parallels point to a genitive with *antar*, not a genitive of 'equivalence' as Keith takes it There is no sound evidence for a gen of 'equivalence' in Sanskrit, while the use of a gen with *antar* is proved by BR s v, a very clear case is VS 40 5

agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai vartanyāgrayanasya vīryena (KS *jagatyā vartanyā*) *devas tvā savitotsṛjatu* (etc) TS KS *agneṣ ṭvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanyā devas tvā savitonnayatu* MS

ıdāyāṣ (ApŚ °*yaḥ*) *padam ghṛtavac carācaram* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *ıdāyāṣ padam ghṛtavat sarīsṛpam* AV SMB · *ıdāyaı sṛptam ghṛtavac carācaram* TA HG Comm on TA takes *ıdāyaı* as dat of purpose, *gosampādanārtham*, but this seems fanciful

priyo dātur dakṣınāyā ıha syām AV *priyo devānām dakṣınāyaı dātur ıha bhūyāsam* VS The AV reading is masked by sandhi, but p p *dakṣınāyāḥ*

§143 Genitives of ı or ī stem nouns The first seven occur all in the same context, they are used in dedicating various ribs of the horse to various deities at the *aśvamedha* All the unambiguous forms are genitives (e g *yamyaı*, *yamyaḥ* are paralleled by *yamasya*), so that it seems best to count the forms in *aı* as genitives also

yamyaı pātūrah TS *yamyāḥ pāturah* KSA

sarasvatyaı (MS KSA °*yā*) *nıpakṣatıh* VS TS MS KSA

ındrānyaı (MS °*yāh*) *ṣaṣṭhı* VS MS

nırṛtyaı (MS °*yāh*) *pañcamī* VS MS

adityāh (VS °*yaı*) *pañcamī* VS MS

adityaı (KSA °*yā*) *dvādaśī* TS KSA

yamyaı (MS °*yās*) *trayodaśī* VS MS

adityā (VS °*yaı*) *bhasat* VS MS This and the next also occur in the *aśvamedha*, in the general context of the preceding

adityaı (MS °*yah*) *pājasyam* VS TS MS KSA

devasya tvā savıtuh prasave sarasvatyā vācā yantur yantren° (VS TS ŚB *sarasvatyaı vāco yantur yantren°*) °*bhırıñcamı* VS TS MS KS ŚB — P p of MS *sarasvatyah*

(*devasya tva savıtuh prasave 'svınor bāhubhyām*) *sarasvatyaı* (KS °*yā*) *bhaıṣajyyena* VS KS TB *sarasvatyās tvā vīryena yasase nıradyayabhı ṣıñcamı* MS

yatra bhūmer yuṣase (TA *bhūmyaı vṛnase*) *tatra gacha* AV TA (*bhūmyaı* for *bhūmyās* = *bhumes*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 136, and §182 below)

§144 Genitives of u stem nouns

patır yad vadhvo (ApMB *vadhvaı*) *vāsasā* RV AV ApMB The variant (gen) ending here and in the next two is (*v*)*as*, not (*v*)*as*

yatrasprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvaı yatra vāsah* HG The latter has a stupid corruption in *vṛkṣas* for *-spṛkṣat* (VV 2 p 105) Its *tanuvaı* can only be defended as for *tanvās* = *tanvas*, a partitive gen (cf §517)

na hı te agne tanvah (JB *tanvaı*, TA ApŚ *tanuvaı*) AV KS JB TA ApŚ Kauś Followed by *krūram ānanśa* (KS ApŚ *ānāśa*, JB

krūram nveda, TA *kr° cakāra*) *martyah* (KS *martah*) 'No mortal has attained (comprehended, TA accomplished) the savagery of thy self, O Agni' So Caland on ApŚ Whitney (note on AV) suggests that it may mean 'succeeded in inflicting a wound on thee,' which would make it possible to interpret *tanuvai* as a true dative (of interest), but this seems less likely to be the sense

§145 Genitives of pronouns

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma grbhnāmi* AV ApMB 'I do not mention her name'

imam amum āmuşyāyanam amuşyāh putram KS *imam amuşya* (VSK *imam amum amuşya*) *putram amuşyai* (VSK °*yāh*) *putram* VS VSK ŚB In one of the two occurrences in ŚB *amuşyai* is printed for *amuşya*, doubtless by a misprint

tasyai (MS KS *tasyā*) *vāñ mātyā* (TS *mātī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech'

§146 Less certain are the following cases of genitives First, from nominal *ā* stems

asyā janatāyāh śraiştḥyāya svāhā MS *asyai janatāyai śraiştḥyāya* ApŚ 'For preeminence over this folk' But this may be the 'assimilated' dative with following dative of purpose, cf Speyer, *Skt Synt* 66 supra, Delbruck, *AIS* 149 (Quoted in Conc also under *agne balada*)

§147 From *i* and *ī* stems in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest, see next section

aditya (VS TB ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo 'si* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

adityai (MS KS MŚ *adityā*) *trāsnāsi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA ApŚ MŚ KŚ

indrānyai (MS MŚ MG °*yāh*, KS °*yās*) *samnahanam* VSK TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ MG

prthivyai (MS °*yā*) *varmāsi* VSK KŚ ApŚ MŚ

adityāh (VS ŚB KŚ °*yai*) *sada āsida* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. KŚ *adityās sadane sīda* KS

§148 From pronouns These, like the preceding group, might perhaps be construed as datives of possession or interest The dative of possession is however not common in the oldest language and seems to disappear later For this and other reasons, particularly in view of the established use of *ai* forms as genitives, we consider these also very probable cases of genitive forms It must be confessed that at times the decision is delicate

yasyai (VSK *yasyāḥ*) *te yajñiyo garbhaḥ* VS VSK ŚB KŚ PG
yasyai (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS VSK ŚB
yasyai bahvīḥ (MS *yasyā bahvyaḥ*) *tanuvo* (MS *tanvo*) *vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* MS TB And others, §671 Comm on TB *yasyai yasyā devyāḥ tanuvaḥ*
yāsyā apaśavyā tanūḥ tām asyā apajaḥ ŚG SMB (also with *yāsyā aputryā, yāsyāḥ patighnī*) *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī tā asyā apahata* SMB *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīḥ tām asyā apajaḥ* SMB *yāsyai gṛhaghnī tanūḥ tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG (also with *patighnī, paśughnī, prajāghnī, yaśoghnī*) *yāsyai ghorā tanūḥ tām ito nāśaya svāhā* HG (also with *ninditā, patighnī*) The first *asyai* is clearly gen On the second see §612

§149 We now come to variants used in ablative, rather than genitive, function First, from pronominal *ā* stems

yo martasyā dhiśo abhidāsād agnim sā ṛchatu MS (also with *indram, marutaḥ, mitrāvarunau, somam*) *agnim sa ṛchatu yo martasyai* (KS † °*syā*) *dhiśo 'bhidāsati* KS ApŚ (also with *indram, aditim* etc) *agnim sa dhiśām devam devatānām ṛchatu yo martasyai dhiśo 'bhidāsati* TB (also with *indram* etc) *iyam dig yo martasyai* (KS °*syā*) etc KS TB ApŚ

§150 From *i* and *ī* stem nouns

gāyatryai (MS KS °*yā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB
sūryas tvā (MS *tvā rasmibhiḥ*) *purastāt pātu kasyāś cid abhiśastyai* (TS MS KS °*śastyāḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Striking because the modifying pronoun *kasyāś(cid)* has *ās* even in VS ŚB Cf next
āsanyān mā mantrāt pāhi (MŚ *pāhi purā*) *kasyāś cid abhiśastyāḥ* (AŚ °*tyai svāhā*) TS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf prec
pṛthivyai (MS KS °*yā*) *mā pāhi* TS MS KS
pañktyai (MS KS °*yā*) *nidhanavat* VS TS MS KS ŚB
apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai TS ApŚ *apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai devayajanyai* TS ApŚ *apahato raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ* TS ApŚ (p p of TS *pṛthivyāḥ*!) *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanāj* (ApŚ †*adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ (the latter ambiguous) *apārarum pṛthivyā* (p p °*vyāḥ*) *adevayajanam* MS MŚ *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā* [*iti*, ambiguous] ApŚ *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB
pāpāt (KŚ *pāpaḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ °*nād*) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ °*yai*) AV KŚ
agne dabdhāyo pāhi prasityai pāhi duriṣṭyai pāhi duradmanyai (TS TB add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS VS ŚB TB † (in VS text has *duradmanyā iti*) *agne 'dabdhāyo pāhi prasityāḥ pāhi duriṣṭyāḥ pāhi*

duradmanyāh KS (text °*manyā ıti*) —Also listed in Conc under *pāhi*

adbhyah sambhūtah pṛthivyaı rasāc ca TA ApŚ *adbhyah sambhṛtah pṛthivyaı* (MS KS † °*yā*) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS

kṣetrıyāt tvā nırṛtyā jāmišansāt AV *kṣetrıyaı tvā nırṛtyaı tvā* TB ApMB HG (*kṣetrī* = *kṣetrıya* occurs only in this passage)

[*amoı* (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyaı* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB No *ās* form here]

§151 Genitives in *āis* as datives We have referred above to the few but interesting cases in which fem *ai* *āis* forms vary in dative construction These, to be sure, might be taken merely as cases of the growing tendency for the gen to absorb the functions of the dative, to be signalized below (§§614 ff) Yet the parallel cases just discussed make it obviously likely that the identity of the two endings in sandhi before vowels and their consequent confusion in abl-gen function has something to do with these cases At least they deserve separate grouping, apart from other dative-genitive variants They are either dependent syntactically upon *namah*, *svāhā*, or the root *vidh*, none of which seem to be regularly construable with the genitive, or else are used as datives of purpose It is particularly to be noted that the *ās* forms are found chiefly in Vājasaneyin and Taittirīya school texts, which are also those in which *ai* in genitive function is favored Evidently this confusion of endings, in both its aspects, is characteristic of these schools But one or two cases, textually doubtful, occur in MS too

§152 The variants are

yā te agne rudriyā tanūs tayā nah pāhi tasyas (MS KS *tasyaı*) *te svāhā* TS MS KS

ya ta ıśur yuva nāma tayā no mṛda (MS *tayā vidhema*) *tasyās* (MS *tasyaı*) *te namas* TS MS

tasyaı (TS *tasyās*) *te devi havirṣā vidhema* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N Keith's note takes *tasyās* with *havirṣā*, rendering 'oblation for you' But *tasyās* can mean 'you' only by virtue of going with *te*, from which this interpretation most implausibly separates it Keith ought to render 'To thee, goddess, let us offer with her oblation', a monstrosity which his translation avoids by snuply omitting *tasyās* It is better frankly to recognize that *tasyās* is used as dative, or else to consider that the gen here replaces a more usual dat (cf §634)

tasyās (MS *tasyaı*, KS † *tasmaı*, read *tasyaı*) *te devīṣtake vidhema havirṣā vayam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Keith makes the same suggestion as in prec, q v

ūśāyai (MS °*yā*, but p p °*yai*) *manyum rājānam* VS MS TB Followed by *barhiṣā dadhur indriyam* 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhis, unto authority' It seems impossible to construe *ūśāyā(ḥ)* as gen , note the p p of MS

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS ŚB *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS °*pāya*, p p °*pāyāḥ*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA pratīkas, *brahmanas tvā paraspāyā* [*iti*] ApŚ MŚ (could stand for °*pāyai or* °*pāyāḥ*) In the same passage the next two

divas tvā paraspāyāḥ (MS °*pāya*, not repeated in p p), *antarikṣasya* MS TA (and ApŚ pratīka, with °*pāyā* [*iti*]) and

prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai (MS °*pāya*, v l °*pāyāś*, p p °*pāyāḥ*) *cakṣuṣas* MS TA (and ApŚ pratīka as before) In these three adjoining formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended 'for the protection of ' Note that TA has °*pāyāḥ* twice and °*pāyai* once—all in the same passage VS has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat of a neuter stem °*pa-* (§801), equivalent to °*pā-* This same neuter form is read thrice in MS s p , but once the v l °*pāyāḥ* occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA has the regular dative form °*pāyai*[1]), and its p p reads °*pāyāḥ* in the two cases which it repeats at all

CHAPTER IV

STEMS IN *A*

1 Nominative and vocative plural in *ās* *āsas*

§153 Among the variants occur only forms of *a* stems, to which *āsas* was originally restricted In general *āsas* is more ancient, or hieratic and archaizing, *ās* is younger or more popular Since the variation involves a difference of a syllable in the length of the word, the meter is often concerned in it But other changes may result in making both forms metrical, and it may be difficult to say in such cases whether these other changes were responsible for the change between *ās* and *āsas*, or vice versa At times the familiar *ās* is allowed to replace *āsas* in defiance of the meter, without compensatory change But conversely a later text, in its passion for 'hifalutin' language, sometimes puts in an unmetrical *āsas* for original *ās*

§154 We begin with variants both forms of which are metrically more or less defensible, and first with those in which we take *āsas* to be the original reading, secondarily altered to *ās*

yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh RV *yena devā amṛtam anv avindan* AV

dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KA TB ApŚ SMB MG Here TB ApŚ compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word *ha*

devāso (and, *devās tvā*) *dadhire purah* RV (both) The RV itself uses a patch-word, the older form was certainly *āsas*

viśve devāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (Ppp * °*ti*, KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV * also *tveha*, and *pakvam*, Ppp *mām iha*, SMB ApMB HG *paścāt*) AV (ter) Ppp KS † SMB ApMB HG Add to VV 1 §116

ā yāta pitarah somyāsah (HG *somyāh*) AV HG *eta pitarah somyāsah* SMB GG VⁱDh *parā yāta pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV HG *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ *somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf VV 1 §256

ye devānām ṛtvijo yajñiyāsah (and, *ṛtvijo ye ca yajñiyāh*) AV (both) As between these two, it seems clear that *yajñiyāsah* is older, the other showing evidences of patch-work But even it is certainly

secondary to *ye devānām yajñiyā yajñiyānām* RV The AV introduces *rtviyo*, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods

§155 Next a group in which the *ās* forms seem older, *āsas* being as a rule due to conscious archaizing

tubhyam sutāsah somāh SV *tubhyam somāh sutā ime* RV The SV in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out *ime*, and left a pāda which is metrically bad

asmāñ (MS KS TS † *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV SV TS MS KS *asmān devāso 'vata haveṣu* AV †

mā tva dabhan yātudhānā durevāh (Ppp *durevā yātudhānāh*) RV AV Ppp *mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kaśokāh* AV

punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā (ŚŚ °*yāso*) [*yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām iha va*, ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayantām iha va*)] AV ŚB BṛhU ŚŚ *athaite dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām iha va svāhā* HG *atho yatheme dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām iha va* MG *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG The ŚŚ reading is archaizing and metrically harsh, tho possible HG MG AG all treat the formula as prose, but all have the archaizing ending

ete pūtā viṣaścitah RV *le pūtāso viṣ°* SV

ye antarikṣa ula ye (Kauś °*kṣe ye ca*) *divi śritāh* (Kauś °*tāsah*) Kauś MG In different contexts Pronouncing the *a* of *antarikṣe*, MG makes a good jagatī, eliding it, Kauś makes a good triṣṭubh Kauś wins a hieratic ending only by allowing a rather unhieratic elision (cf VV 2 p 420 ff), and is forced to make a further change of *ula* to *ca*

§156 In the following variant two adjoining adjectives vary in both readings, the longer and shorter endings interchanging in the two forms

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB *dhṛṣatā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV The ms of Ppp has *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā marutvam*, emended by Barret, *JAOS* 35 60, to *hṛṣamānāso dhṛṣatā* (for which *dhṛṣitā* or *hṛṣitā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*

§157 We now come to cases in which one or the other reading makes distinctly bad meter In most of them *āsas* is metrically better, and as a rule certainly original

yatra devāso (KS *devā*) *ajuṣanta viśve* VS KS ŚB MŚ *viśve devā yad ajuṣanta pūrve* TS The latter patches the meter while using the shorter ending If KS were original (tho metrically poor), the hieratic *devāso* of VS etc would also be an attempt to patch the meter, but on the whole this seems unlikely

trayo gharmāso anu jyotiṣāguh (MS KS *retasāguh*) TS MS KS ApMB *trayo gharmā anu reta āguh* AV

viśve devāso (AV *devā*) *adhith sajoṣāh* AV Ppp TS MS ApMB Cf also *viśve devāh sajoṣasah* AV MS TA

ye devā (RV VS AB AŚ ŚB *devāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV AV VS TS MS KS AB ŚB MŚ AŚ Sāyana at AV 19 27 11 apparently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha*

yena devāso (AV *devā*) *asuhanta dasyūn* RV AV

vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa (KS *avasṛṣṭā*) *āhutāh* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ *devāso barhir āsadan* RV *devā barhir āsata* PB

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yajñam imam* (Ppp *havir idam*) *juṣadhvam* (AV *juṣantām*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam* AV

viśve devā iha mādayantām (KS *vīrayadhvam*) TS KS TB *viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam* (AV *mādayadhvam*, VS ŚB Vait LŚ *mādayantām*) RV AV VS TS ŚB Vait LŚ ApMB

§158 Much more rarely the original form has *ās*, and the archaizing change to *āsas* spoils the meter

ye stha traya ekādaśāh (ŚŚ *ekādaśāsah*) KS ŚŚ This is really prose and so should not strictly be counted here, but its cadence simulates an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS, the presumably original form

suddhā bhavata yajñiyāh AV *suddhā bhavantah śucayah* (N *bhavanto yajñiyāsah*) *pāvakāh* AV N Cf also *abhūma yajñiyāh suddhāh* AV Since *pāvakāh* must be read metrically *pavākāh*, the line is triṣṭubh and the AV reading is correct Very likely N intended it as jagatī, reading *pāvakāh*, and altered the preceding case ending to fit its conception of metrical requirements

§159 The following variant is prose, as is also the first quoted in the preceding paragraph

ānunasya devā (MS *deva*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāso*) MS KS

2 Neuter plural in *ā* or *āni*

§160 The ending *āni* is, of course, originally borrowed from *n* stems (Wackernagel 3 p 105), where both *ā* and *āni* are prehistoric (Indo-Iranian, ibid p 277), and are equally familiar in the Veda It is a curious fact that, nevertheless, the variants reveal practically no shift between *ā* and *āni* in *n* stems, the only possible instance noted is *janimā*(*ni*), in *viśvā devānām* etc , §164, and cf §269

§161 Of our variants nearly all are metrical, and in general the meter is reasonably good in both forms, despite the difference in number of

syllables in the two variant forms, the shorter ending is generally accompanied by a patch-word or other difference of reading Altho *ā* is certainly older and more hieratic than *āni* (half again as common as *āni* in RV), the variants show no clear preponderance of originality in either The alteration may be in either direction, indeed not infrequently both endings are found in both forms of the variant, but in different words, as in

brahmajyeṣṭhā sambhṛtā vīryāni AV *bra° vīryā sambhṛtāni* TB
samyopayanto durītāni viśvā RV MG *samlobhayanto durītā padāni* AV
atikrāmanto durītā padāni (N *durītāni viśvā*) AV N

§162 Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter, and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either

indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā RV *indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam* RV Ppp ArS MS AB KB TB AA N *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocam vīryāni* AV Jagatī and triṣṭubh

nakir asya pra minanti vratāni RV AV *nakiṣ ta etā vratā minanti* RV Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj

sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS *havanā juṣoṣa*) TS MS Jagatī and triṣṭubh Cf also *sa no nediṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (both)

durītāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma MS *durītā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA Jagatī and anuṣṭubh

§163 But elsewhere the same meter is used with both forms, the shorter form is accompanied by a patch-word or other change, and there is no clear evidence of priority

sa hi viśvāti (RV *°viśvāni*) *pārthivā* RV (both) KS
kṛtāni kartvāni ca RV *kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* RV
ati (RV **agne*) *viśvāni durītā tarema* (RV **rājānaḥ, *svastaye, *pṛpartana, *°tāni parṣan*) RV (5 times) PB
skannemā viśvā bhuvanā TB TA ApŚ *askannemā* (so text, for *skannemā* or *āsk°?*) *viśvā bhūtāni* KŚ Different words, *bhuvana* and *bhūta*, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending
āndā śuṣṇasya bhedati RV *śuṣṇasyāndāni bhedati* RV
dadhad ratnāni dāśuṣe RV SV VS TS MS KS TB *dadhad ratnā vi dāśuṣe* RV *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāni* RV VS The first and third variants in relation to each other might be classed in the preceding, as anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh
agnir havyāni suśvadat RV *agnir havyā suśūdati* RV

§164 Next a group which is exactly like the preceding except that for one reason or another there seems reason for supposing that the *ā* form is older, yet the *āni* form is metrically good

abhi yo viśvā (and, *abhi viśvāni*) *bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV (both) See *RVRep* 117

tato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu (AV °*nāni*) *viśvā* RV AV

viśvā rūpābhi (MS *rūpāny abhi*) *caṣṭe śacībhiḥ* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, *rūpā abhi*

aṅgā parūṃṣi tava vardhayanti Vait and AVPpp, *JAOS* 30 221 *priyāṇy aṅgāni tava vardhayantīḥ* TB (probably secondary)

tatrāhatāḥ trīṇi śatāni śaṅkavaḥ AV *tasmin sākam triśatā na śaṅkavaḥ* RV N

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB ŚŚ *mā cakrā āvṛtsata* MS † *apa cakrāṇi vartaya* TB ApŚ The last clearly secondary

viśvā devānām (TS *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti* AV TS KS Cf *sarvā devānām janimāni vidvān* Kauś, which, if a true variant of the other, would show the only *āni* *ā* variation noted for an *n* stem, cf §§160, 269 Of the others, AV KS are more apt to be original than TS

ata iṣaḥ karvarā purūṇi RV AV Ppp *ata invata karvarāṇi bhūri* AV

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N °*nam*) *akarma* (Ppp MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś *sadanāni santu*) AV Ppp VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS

vratā nu (AB AŚ ŚŚ ŚG *vratāni*) *bibhrad vratapā adābhyaḥ* (MS AB AŚ *adabdhaḥ*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Only RV school texts have *vratāni*, two other schools *vratā nu* But this is, of course, not conclusive evidence of priority

yatremā viśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuḥ RV AV N *yenemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* TA

yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (TA *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N *yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS *pituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV VS

[*achidrā uṣṭayaḥ padānu takṣuḥ* TS *achidrostayaḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ*, em from ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*, KS]

§165 The converse of the preceding is shown in a group where *āni* seems to be the older reading Presumably *ā* is here due to conscious archaizing in a secondary text With *ā* often goes a patchword which preserves the meter

kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (TA MahānU *devo atiduritāty*) *agniḥ* AV TA MahānU

priyāny aṅgāni svadhitā parūṃṣi (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB Vait

purvantu viśvā bhūtāni (MS *bhūtā mā*, TB *viśva āyavaḥ*) AV VS MS KS TB

śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (MS *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB

ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS MS

ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cākḷpe AV ŚirasU *yo rudro viśvā bhuvanāviveśa* TS KS ApŚ MŚ Probably not a real variant

prajāpate na tvad etāny anyaḥ (MS **na hi tvat tāny anyaḥ*, KS *nahi tvad anya ḥetā*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) KS SB ŚB TB TAA BṛhU AŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB ApMB N

§166 We come now to variants in which one form is metrically poor It happens, a little surprisingly, that the metrically superior form seems always to be historically older, there is no apparent case of secondary correction of the meter We begin with a few cases in which the original has *ā*, and *āni* is metrically bad

hinva (Vait *hinvā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivaḥ* TS KŚ ApŚ MŚ Vait

aṣṭau śatā yan mitam tad vadanti ŚB *aṣṭau ca śatāni* [*samvatsarasya*, inserted in Gaastra with all but two mss] *muhūrtān yān vadanti* GB

§167 In the rest the *āni* ending is original and metrically superior The form in *ā* is in several instances clearly due to haplology, these (the first two) are treated in VV 2 §808

viśvāny anyo (AV *viśvānyo*) *bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (AV MS *bhuvanā vicaṣṭe*) RV AV MS TB

trīni padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU —Ppp ms *padānihatā* which Barret, *JAOS* 30 195, emends to the AV reading, but it may equally well go with TA MahānU

yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni (MS *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasthuḥ* RV VS MS Cf prec but one, the unmetrical *viśvā* may have been influenced by *bhuvanā*, the first alteration (?)

turaś cittāni (KS ms *cittā*) *vasavo jighānsati* RV AV MS KS *turaḥ satyāni maruto jighānsāt* TS Von Schroeder emends KS to *cittāni*, which seems rather arbitrary

sa cittāni (Ppp ms *cittām*) *mohayatu pareṣām* AV Ppp Barret, *JAOS* 32 351, reads Ppp as *cittā* It may, however, have intended *cittāni*

agnir vṛtrāni jaṅghanat RV SV etc In Svidh occurs the pratīka *agnir vṛtreti*, i e apparently, *vṛtrā-iti* Perhaps a corruption

§168 Finally, a few variants in which one or both versions are prose The first is particularly interesting, in it TS and PB are prose, and

substitute the prosaic *āni* for the *ā* of the other texts Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was *ā* substituted for *āni*?

etā (TS PB *etāni*) *te aghniye* (TS *aghniye*, PB *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* VS TS PB ŚB MŚ

abhi savanāni (TS *savanā*) *pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Prose in both

ariṣṭāni me sarvatmānibhṛṣṭah AV *ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu* (PG *me 'ngāni*) Vait PG *ariṣṭa mvavāny aṅgāni* TS TAA MŚ Prose in both

3 Instrumental plural in *ais ebhis*

§169 The variants are not very numerous nor particularly interesting In most of them *ais* is substituted for an original *ebhis* Thus most clearly in the following group, where *ais* is unmetrical

sam vajebhih (MS *vājaih*) *puruscandrair abhidyubhih* RV AV MS † 2 2 6b 20 4, KS

samjñānam nah (KS *nas*, TB *na*, Poona ed *nah*) *svebhyah* (AV *svebhih*, TB *svaih*) RVKh AV MS KS TB Followed by

samjñānam aranebhyah (AV *aranebhih*, TB *aranaih*), same texts The AV forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB is much worse

tvaṣtar devebhih sahasama indra ApMB *tvaṣta devaih sahamana indrah* MG

somo rudrair (TS *rudrebhir*) *abhi rakṣatu tmana* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ It is strange that only TS (usually secondary in relation to MS KS) has the metrically correct form (against three different schools!) Is it possible, after all, that the others have the original reading (tho poor metrically), and that TS has corrected the meter secondarily?

gambhirebhih pathibhih pūrvinebhih (MS *purvebhih*) MS KS AŚ SMB *gambhiraih pathibhih pūrvyaih* (AV *pūrjanaih*) AV TS HG The meter requires *gambhīrebhih* thruout Whitney on AV 18 4 63 suggests emendation of MS to *purvyebhih*, which was evidently the original on which TS HG *pūrvyaih* is based

§170 In another little group AV seems secondary in substituting *ais* for *ebhis*, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes

angirobhir a gahi yajñiyebhih RV TS MS *angirobhir yajñiyair ā gahiha* AV

prehi-prehi pathibhih pūrvyebhih (AV *pūryānaih*) RV AV MS AŚ AG

vīryebhir (MS *vīrebhir*, AV *yau viryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭha* (TB *śaci°*, Poona ed *śavi°*) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§171. In other cases, on the contrary, it seems a fair guess that the older version is that with *ais*, the archaizing *ebhis* being secondary, tho the meter is not necessarily decisive

jambhyais (KS °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (KS † °*rān*) *uta* VS TS KS In KS the suffixal *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation, perhaps KS archaizes secondarily

sajoṣā devair (VS ŚB *sajūr devebhir*) *avarair paraiś ca* VS TS MS KS ŚB

tebhiṣ tvam putram janaya ŚG *tais tvam putram* (ApMB *putrān*) *vindasva* AV ApMB *tais tvam garbhinī bhava* HG Note that ŚG is forced to read *tvam* as a monosyllable

satyam pūrvair (KS *pūrvebhir*) *ṛṣibhih saṃvidanah* (KS † °*bhiś cākḷpānah*, ApŚ °*bhis cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ Here KS spoils the meter

§172 In the following neither metrical nor other considerations clearly decide the original form

mitrāvaruṇau dhiṣṇyaih (KS °*yebhir agnibhih*) MS KS *añgiraso dhiṣṇyair agnibhih* TA (prose in the latter)

miḍam barsvaih (TS *barsvebhih*) VS TS MS KSA Prose The majority are more apt to be original

mandūkāñ jambhyebhih (KSA *jambhaih*) TS KSA TB ApŚ Prose

4 Ablative singular in *āt* and *tas*

§173 The few variants under this head all concern pronouns or pronominal adjectives, and hence belong, perhaps, more properly in our chapter on Pronouns The forms are, moreover, adverbial or quasi-adverbial in function Two concern *uttarāt* or *uttaratas*, one *tasmāt* and *tatas* The last variant, whose right to be placed here is highly questionable, presents three rare forms in *tāt* from *añc* stems, dubious in character and solely Rigvedic, for which AV substitutes more usual forms in *tas*

viśvakarmā tvādityair uttaratah (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB *viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA

jāgṛvis ca mārundhatī cottarād (MG *cottarato*) *gopāyatām* KS † MG †

tasmād (ArS VS VSK *tato*) *vrād ajāyata* RV ArŚ VS VSK TA

prāktād apāktād (AV *prākto apākto*) *adharād udaktāt* (AV *uduktah*) RV AV

5 Instrumental singular of *ā* stems in *ā* and *ayā*

§174 Only one or two dubious cases

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*)

†*gṛnītam* (AV *gṛnata*) AV VS TS MS KS Cf VV 2 §309 The AV KS parallel suggests taking MS as an instr , in spite of p p

ayā pavā pavasvainā vasūni RV SV PB *uta na enā pavayā pavasva* RV SV The accent of *pavayā* is on the ultima, which gives pause Oldenberg (Noten on 9 97 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of *ayā'* in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbial shift of accent

svāveśayā (VS ŚB °*veśā*) *tanvā samviśasva* VS MS KS ŚB Wackernagel 3 p 118 supra takes *svāveśā* as instr , as the parallel suggests But below, §415, we have suggested taking it as nom

[*āśīrdāyā dampatī vāmam aśnutām* TS *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS *yam āśirā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS *yayāśiṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* AV Keith takes *āśīrdāyā'* as dual adj with *dampatī*, we prefer to take it for *āśīrdāyāyā* with Wackernagel 3 p 116 infra In any case there is no variation between case-forms *ā* and *ayā*, rather *-dayā* and *-dā* are from the different stems *-dāyā* and *-dā*]

CHAPTER V

SHORT AND LONG *I* STEMS

§175 Out of a mass of miscellaneous variants concerning *i* and *ī* declensions, there stands forth with overwhelming force a large group showing confusion between forms proper to the four declensions which are primarily and regularly feminine, viz the short *i* feminines (type *gati*), the monosyllabic 'radical' *ī* stems (type *śrī*), and the two derivative *ī* declensions (types *devī* and *vṛkī*) We shall begin with these, in §§176–213 Their treatment in Wackernagel 3 pp 134 ff, 163 ff, which see for the extensive earlier bibliography, is in general excellent While our materials do not perhaps reveal much that is new in principle, they nevertheless supplement Wackernagel on many points, and they emphasize rather more than his treatment the interchanges in various directions Occasionally they suggest that forms in which Wackernagel sees other influences may well be due to simple confusion between the declensions (cf notably §189)

§175a No very distinct school tendencies seem to us to be shown by the variants Yet we would call attention to the behavior of the Taittirīya school, which in certain groups of variants seems to show a sort of perverse desire to differ from the regular usage Thus, the endings *ībhis*, *ībhyas*, and *ībhyām* from short *i* stems (similarly *ūbhyām* from short *u* stems, §230) seem to be characteristic of this school (§§188–9), while conversely it shows some tendency to prefer short *i* forms from *ī* stems (see notably §§198–9) Nor are these sections the only ones which contain examples of such perverseness in the Tait school We have noticed like conditions in this school on other points, cf VV 2 passim, notably §§767, 946

1 *ī* forms from *i* stems

§176 We shall begin with variations between short and long *i* forms and first those in which apparently original *i* stems present *ī* (*devī* or *vṛkī*) forms. From the phonetic standpoint these cases have been treated in VV 2 §§526 ff

§177 Nom sg in *īs* from *i* stems Here a striking group of cases concerns lengthening of the *i* in the nom sg of *i* stems, resulting in forms like *vṛkīs* While some of them are more or less dubious, they

are too numerous and on the whole too well attested to permit doubt of the reality of the phenomenon, which so far as we can see happens not to be recorded by Wackernagel (cf his p 135) In every variant the ī is secondary historically

ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiṣ (AŚ ApMB HG °*tiś*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG

abhiṣṭir (HG °*ṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no gṛhe*) RVKh HG

plāśir (TB °*śīr*) *vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utsaḥ* VS MS KS TB

viśvā abhiṣṭiḥ pṛtanā jayati MS *viśvā hi bhūyāḥ pṛtanā abhiṣṭīḥ* TS 'In all conflicts he shall become a protector,' Keith, who would read *abhiṣṭiṣ* The accent, on the ultima (so also MS), supports this interpretation, the fem 'protection' is *abhiṣṭi* But we see no reason to refuse to admit, even in a masculine, confusion with the *vṛkī* declension, we should not emend TS Add to VV 2 §529

sam arīr (MS KS *arir*) *vidām* (KS *vidaḥ*) VS MS KS ŚB The meaning is obscure, and the interpretation of *arīr* doubly so Eggeling on ŚB 3 9 4 21 takes it as acc pl , BR as nom sg , the author of ŚB understood it as nom pl , see Eggeling's note, Wackernagel 3 §§70, 78 considers the passage corrupt and would emend to *vidrām*, implying *arīr* as nom pl , a nom sg *arīr* is to him 'unglaublich' Had he known the other forms in this section he might have been less emphatic We think that they prove *arīr* as nom sg not at all impossible in itself

[†*vañkrīr aśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti* RV VS TS KSA Conc quotes *vañkrir* for all texts but KSA , actually *vañkrīr* is found in all, and is an acc pl]

§178 Nom sg in ī from *i* stems The forms in which ī of the *devī* type is substituted for is are on the whole more dubious than the preceding group, but the first, at least, seems to be a clear and a well attested case

ātir (TA KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA Stem *ati* is Rigvedic

śam te methī bhavatu śam yugasya tṛdma ApMB *sam methir bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* AV There is much variation in the form of this word (see BR), but *i* forms are older and at all periods more usual

kārṣir (MS KS MŚ *kārṣy*) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ BṛhPDh Boehtlingk in pw assumes a stem *kārṣin* for the form *kārṣy*, but in so doing falsifies the accent, which in MS is written *kā'rṣy* MS p p reads *kārṣiḥ, asi* Knauer (on MŚ 2 3 17)

suggests irregular sandhi for *kārgis* On the whole, the variant seems to differ in no wise from the preceding two, except that the original form (i or ī stem?) is uncertain

randir asi TS *rantī ramatīh sūnuh sūnarī* ApŚ *vasvī rantih sumanāh* MS *sumanmā vasvī rantī sūnarī* SV JB But the SV is very uncertain, it may be taken with the comm as a dual, see Benfey, Glossar, s v *ram* The form *rantī* of ApŚ is for *rantis* by the usual sandhi

atha jivir (RV *adhā jivrī*, ApMB *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB See VV 2 §529 In RV dual, in ApMB sing but possibly influenced by recollection of the RV form

śirah-śirah prati sūrī vi caṣṭe TS ApŚ *śiro devī prati sūrir vi caṣṭe* KS A peculiar case, *sūrī* is a fem nonce-formation to the usual *sūri*, which is used without change in KS as a fem It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short *u* stems and *ū* stems as masc and fem respectively, but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among *i* stems

§179 Acc sg in *īm* from *i* stems Only a couple of cases, each involving, perhaps, extraneous considerations

ākūtim devīm subhagām (TB *manasah*) *puro dadhe* AV TB *ākūtīm devīm manasā prapadye* SMB Perhaps ī in SMB by form-attraction to *devīm*

kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV Here the meter favors ī, and is perhaps responsible for the SV form

§180 Voc sg in *i* from *i* stems We find a number of cases in which the regular voc *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the ī declension

pūrnā darvi (AV MS *darve*) *parā pata* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ In RV only stem *darvi*

yāś ca bhūmy adharāg yāś ca paścā MS *yāś te bhūme adharād yāś ca paścāt* AV The stem *bhūmi* has *devī* forms even in RV , probably influenced by its synonym *prthivī* (cf Wackernagel 3 p 136)

abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhi (TA *bhūmi vrnu*) RV AV TA Cf prec

ide rante 'dite sarasvati priye preyasi mahi visruti TS *ide rante* (MŚ *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvati mahi visrute* PB MŚ The form *visruti* may be formally assimilated to *mahi* (and *sarasvati*?)

§181 Dat sg in *yai* from *i* stems The extension of *devī* forms to the *i* declension in the dat , abl , gen , and loc sg was so common and persistent that it is familiar even in classical Sanskrit, where it also applies to the monosyllabic ī stems (type *śrī*), cf §209 for Vedic variants

of this declension We shall also find, in §209, a case of a *vṛkī* noun showing a dative of the *devī* type It is worth noting that no *devī* nouns occur among the variants with dative forms borrowed from the rival ī and i declensions, but there is one isolated instance of an abl sg of *vṛkī* type from a *devī* stem, §210

§182 Among the dative forms here collected, there is little clear indication of relative age, but if anything the older texts seem unexpectedly to prefer the *yai* ending (To be included here is also the variant *yatra bhūmer* [*bhūmyai*] §143 above, where *bhūmyai* has gen function) Most of the variants are prose, once *yai* (monosyllabic) seems intended to make meter out of what is a prose formula in the other texts

devavītaye (MS °*vītyai*) *tvā* (KS *vo*) *gṛhnāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *devatābhyas tvā devavītaye gṛhnāmi* KS Only MS is intended to be metrical

ṛtaye (TB *ṛtyai*) *stenahṛdayam* VS TB

anuṣṭup (TB °*tuk*) *paṅktyai* (MŚ *paṅktaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ

bhūtyai (AŚ *bhūtaye*) *namaḥ* MS ApŚ MŚ AŚ

adityai (ŚG °*taye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ŚG

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (etc) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit) *'bhibhū taye* (TS ApŚ *abhibhūtyai*, ŚŚ *'bhibhṛtyai*, KŚ *'bhibhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ

vasyaṣṭaye (misprinted *vaspa°*) *tvā* LŚ *vasyaṣṭyai tvā* Vait

citaye svāhā HG *cityai svāhā* ApŚ

gopīthāya vo nārātaye MS *bhūtāya tvā nārātaye* VS ŚB *rakṣāyai tvā nārātyai* KS *sphātyai tvā nārātyai* TS TB ApŚ

anumataye (TB °*tyai*) *svāhā* ŚB TB BṛhU AG ŚG Kauś *asūyantyai cānumatyai ca svāhā* AŚ

suvargeyāya (VSK *svar°*) *saktyai* (VSK ŚvetU *śaktyā*) VSK TS ŚvetU *svargyāya śaktyā* (MS *śaktaye*) VS MS KS ŚB Metrical, *śaktyai* three syllables

§183 A couple of infinitive variants in *e* *ai* may be added here, altho they are probably not really comparable The origin of the *ai* of certain infinitive forms is really unexplained, that *-dhyai* is formed by affixing the dative ending (IE **ai* or **ei* =) Skt *e* to a stem final **dhya* or **dhyā*, as commonly assumed, is hardly more than a placebo, and still less likely is it that the frequent ending *-tavai* (with double accent, on stem and ending both) is from a stem **tava* or **tavā*, since the parallel and similar *-tave* obviously belongs to stem *tu* (see below, §238) But whatever be the history of these forms, the important

point for our purposes is that from RV on the infinitive of this type is always *dhyai*, never *dhye* except in the isolated TS occurrence of our first variant, and this is likely to be a mere phonetic simplification of *ai* to *e* (VV 2 §705) The other variant which follows is even more dubious

te te dhāmāny usmasi gamadhye TS *tā* (VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV VS MS KS ŚB N Two mss of KS also have *yamadhye*

paridhāsyai yasodhāsyai PG . *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG The MG forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut ind) Stenzler (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive form and *yaśodhāsyai* as a cpd Cf VV 1 §177, 2 §705

§184 Abl -gen sg in *yās* from *i* stems What has been said on the datives in *yai* applies equally here It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which *yās* is secondarily substituted in SV is not the usual *es*, but the older *yas*, which is the only form known in RV from the stem *avi*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 138

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV **vāraih*) *pari priyah* RV SV (ter) *avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyam* RV SV *avyo* (SV †*avyā*) *vārebhih pavate madintamah* RV SV *avyo* (SV *aviyā*) *vārebhir arṣati* (SV *avyata*) RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre mahīyate* RV SV *avyo vāreṣu* (SV *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuh* RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāraih paripūtah* RV SV

yonyā (TA *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhah* AV TA

eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*) RV AV TA

sūryāyā ūdhe 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, MŚ *ūdhar aditer*, KS *ūdho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK TS KS ŚS KŚ MŚ

adityā (VS TS ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo 'si* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§185 Nom -acc dual in *yau* from *i* stems A single variant shows this form in three YV texts of different schools, while only one (VS) has the 'proper' ending *ī*, clearly as a secondary substitution (note that the meter requires *śronyau*, as three syllables) The ending *yau* belongs originally to the *vṛkī* declension, whence it was taken over first into the *devī* nouns (§212, below), and then sporadically into *i* stems

aṁsau grīvāś ca śronyau (VS *śronī*) VS MS KS TB

§186 Instr -dat -abl dual see §189 below

§187 Nom pl *īs* from *i* stems In one variant TS has *vahnīs*, an

isolated form of *vahni*, which seems never to have been noticed previously, for the regular *vahnayas* of other texts, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and parallel *daivīs*

upa (TS MS *upo*) *devān daivīr viśah prāgur vahnaya* (TS *vahnīr*) *uśijah* (VS ŚB *prāgur uśijo vahnitamān*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§188 Instr , dat -abl pl *ī-bhis, -bhyas*, from *i* stems Regarding *ī* in these forms, it is to be noted that the p p of TS reads short *i* where the s p has *ī*, suggesting that *ī* was interpreted as (originally rhythmic) lengthening of quasi-final *i* (this lengthening is regularly abolished in the pada-pāthas, VV 2 §428) This lengthening seems specially common before labial consonants (VV 2 §§464 ff , 515 f , etc) It may be noted, however, that the other conditions favorable to such lengthening, which include the vowel's being followed by a single consonant, exist only in the instr plur (*-bhis*) The general influence of the *ī* stems, so common in other case forms, seems to us an amply sufficient explanation of these forms also, other pada-pāthas do not seem to support that of TS , and we are not inclined to see influence of the law of rhythmic lengthening here —The variants in this and the next section seem to suggest a preference for *ī* in the Taitt school, so also with *ū* for *u*, §230, cf §175a

ṛtūn pṛṣṭībhih (KSA *pṛṣṭibhih*, ms *bhṛ°*) TS KSA Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 359, take *pṛṣti* for an *ī* stem, but the usual theory (e g Wackernagel 3 p 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible

pṛṣṭībhyah (KSA *pṛṣṭi°*) *svāhā* TS KSA See prec

svāhākṛtibhyah (TS ApŚ °*tībhyah*) *presya* TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Most MŚ mss °*tībhyah*

hrādunībhyah (KSA °*ni°*) *svahā* VS TS KSA Originally *i* stem, Wackernagel 3 p 138

§189 Instr -dat -abl dual in *ībhyām* from *i* stems The forms *akṣībhyām* and *śronībhyām* are in our opinion in no wise different from the plural forms of the preceding section We cannot agree with Wackernagel 3 pp 54 f , 303, who regards them as directly based upon the nom dual *akṣī, śronī* If other *ī* forms from short *i* stems were unknown, or even rare, this suggestion might be considered But since just the opposite is the case, we see no reason to look for any more specific motivation of these dual forms Note that the stem *śroni* even has a nom dual *śronyau*, following the (*vṛkī*, or later) *devi* declension (§185)

sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām (MG *akṣi°*) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N In the older language the form with *ī* is commoner than that with *i*

mitrāvarunau śronībhyām (KSA °*nɪ*°) TS KSA
śronībhyām (TS °*nī*°) *svāhā* TS KSA
yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB °*nī*°, v l °*nɪ*°) *bhāsadāt* RV AV ApMB
ya° *bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

2 *ɪ* stems of uncertain quantity

§190 So far we have dealt only with what we believe to have been originally short *ɪ* stems, attracted towards *ī* declensions The reverse process is at least equally common, especially with *devī* nouns, but also with *vṛkī* and monosyllabic (*śrī*) types The confusion is in a few cases so old and profound that we really do not know which is original Thus the question of *takarī* or °*rɪ* is left doubtful by Wackernagel (3 p 186), and we can add nothing to his statement except that in the following variant AVPpp , according to Roth, has *tagarɪm*
vɪ te bhɪnadmɪ takarīm (KS °*rɪm*, AV *mehanam*, Ppp *tagarɪm* [Roth]) AV TS KS ApŚ

§191 The most familiar case of this sort is the notorious *oṣadhɪ* or °*dhī* Lanman (NI 371) classified it doubtfully as a *devī* noun Wackernagel (3 p 186) contents himself with stating the broad facts, as follows the sing (lacking in RV family books) has only *ɪ* forms in the Veda (to W's single exception from AV we can add another from ApMB , §192) In the plural RV and AV have *ī* forms except in the nom (voc), where *ayas* and *īs* interchange Both types are found later, but *ɪ* forms predominate in classical Sanskrit

§192 Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom pl We have noted only one acc sg and one dat pl
ɪmam khanāmɪy oṣadhɪm (ApMB °*dhīm*) RV AV ApMB
oṣadhɪbhyah (ŚG °*dhī*°, sc *namah*) MG ŚG

§193 As to the nom pl , the forms *ayas* and *īs* are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind In nearly all of them *īs* is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter As a rule later texts substitute *ayas*, often without any attempt to patch the meter
yā oṣadhīh (AV TS TB Kauś PrānāgU °*dhayah*) *somarājñīh* RV AV VS TS AB TB PrānāgU Kauś SMB GG KhG
yatrauṣadhīh samagmata RV VS *yad oṣadhayah samgachante* (KS *samagmata*) TS MS KS
yā oṣadhīh pūrvā jātāh RV VS KS ŚB ŚŚ KŚ N *yā oṣadhayah prathamajāh* MS KS MŚ MG *yā jātā oṣadhayah* TS TB ApŚ
Note that MS etc by a further change make passable meter

kalpantām āpa oṣadhayaḥ (TS TB °*dhīḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB Here probably *ayaṣ* is original, tho poor metrically, and the secondary *īṣ* is introduced to improve the meter

śam no bhavantv apa oṣadhayaḥ (AV * °*dhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV (bis) (Read *apa* at 2 3 6, see Whitney's note) The meter is certainly better with *īṣ*

oṣadhīḥ prati modadhvam RV VS *oṣadhayaḥ prati modadhvam enam* (KS om *enam*, VS ŚB °*dhvam agnim etam*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB *oṣadhayaḥ prati gṛbhnīta* VS VSK ŚB *oṣadhayaḥ prati gṛhnītāgnim* (MS *gṛbhnī*°) *etam* TS MS KS The RV is clearly old and sound with *oṣadhīḥ* Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute *oṣadhayaḥ*, which spoils the meter, some try to patch it with generally poor success

śam oṣadhayo rasena VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ *śam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīḥ* VS ŚB Probably not real variants, both metrically passable

oṣadhayaḥ (RV VS °*dhīḥ*) *prācucyavuḥ* RV VS TS MS KS The RV original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *pra acu*°), and the change to *-ayaḥ* was doubtless meant to improve it

indrāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī āpa oṣadhīḥ (KS °*dhayaḥ*) TS KS *sūryāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayaḥ* MS Vocatives This is the only prose variant, the isolated TS is apt to be secondary

3 *i* forms from *ī* stems

§194 The stem *rātrī* There is no doubt that *rātrī* 'night' (Wackernagel 3 p 185) was originally a *devī* noun, as it still is exclusively in RV According to Wackernagel, KS also has only *ī* forms except *rātrayaḥ* which it uses exclusively for *rātrīḥ* in the nom pl , and a single case of nom sg *rātriḥ* In the variants, as we should expect, older texts in general show *ī* forms, later ones *i* forms We find

§195 Nom sg in *iṣ*

tato rātry (TA *rātriṛ*) *ajāyata* RV TA MaitrāṇU Two mss of MaitrāṇU *rātriṛ*

rātri (TB *rātrī*, KS v l *rātriḥ*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB Voc in RV

śam rātrī (VS *rātrīḥ*, VSK TA *rātriḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK MS TA On VS see §206

§196 Acc sg in *im* (note preference of KS for *īm*, cf Wackernagel l c)

rātrim-rātrim (MS KS ŚB KŚ MG *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantaḥ* AV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MG

anuvāsi (etc , see VV 2 §255) *rātrim* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *jinva* VS TS MS KS GB Vait

rātrim (KSA *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

rātrim dhenum ivāyatīm (AV *upāyatīm*) AV HG ApMB *rātrīm dhe° ivā°* SMB PG MG

rātrim (KS *rātrīm*) *jinva* TS KS PB Vait

ye rātrim (KS *rātrīm*) *anutiṣthanti* (KS † *°ṣthatha*) AV KS

§197 Nom pl in *ayas*

yās te rātrīh (MS KS *rātrayah*) *savitar devayānīh* TS MS KS Here *rātrīh* certainly makes better meter, but is found only in TS , while MS KS (generally older than TS) agree on *rātrayah* The latter is the usual Vedic form (but no nom pl occurs in RV or AV), and is prescribed for the Veda by Pān 4 1 31

§198 The stem *varūtrī* (or *varu°*, VV 2 §562) Like *rātrī* this is originally a *devī* noun but shows *i* forms (Wackernagel 3 p 184), tho only in texts of the Tait school among the variants (cf §175a)

Acc sg in *im*

varūtrim (KS † *varutrīm*) *tvaṣtur varunasya nābhim* TS KS *varūtrīm tvaṣṭur varunasya nābhim* VS ŚB *tvaṣṭur varutrīm varunasya nābhim* MS

Nom pl in *ayas*

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr TS *varūtrīṣ tvā* (KS *°trīs tvā*) *devīr visvadevyāvatīh* VS KS ŚB Wackernagel l c suggests that *varūtrayas* is influenced by the adjoining *janayas* But this will not explain the other variants here

varutrīr avayan KS *varūtrayas †tvāvayan* ApŚ

§199 Root ī stems, type *srī* Cf Wackernagel 3 p 187 Here forms of the *i* type are rare We find two involving the nom sg (one of them, however, doubtful), and two the dative plural Again, as in the prec , Tait texts seem to favor short *i*

veṣaśrīr (TS *°śrir*) *asi* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ Wackernagel l c suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyaṣṭir asi* in TS

asrīvayaś (TS ApŚ *°vṅś*, MS *°vīs*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The word is obscure and probably artificial VS comm takes *°vayaś* as a cpd containing stem *vayas* It must certainly be felt as nom sg , and so the other forms of the variant If they are felt as containing the stem *vī* (in *pada-vī* etc), the variation between MS and TS would belong here

namah senābhyah senānībhyaś (VS TS *°nibhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem in composition) §523

namaḥ śvanibhyo (MS *śvanī°*) VS MS KS *namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* TS See VV 2 §528 Boehtlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *senānibhyaś* above

§200 Other *ī* stems (mostly of the *devī* type) show only sporadically variant forms of the *i* declension among the variants We shall classify them by case forms, first, nom sg in *ir* for *ī*

pratir dvā parvatī (TS TB *°tir*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ One ms of KS *parvatī*

nārir asi VS TS MS ŚB TA MŚ *nāry asi* VS KS ŚB The stem *abhrir* or *babhrir* almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p 184)

ambā ca dulā ca nitatnī ca MS *ambā dulā nitatnir* TS In AV 6 136 1 *nitatnī* is the epithet of a plant, here of a brick The chances are that the *ī* stem is original

§201 The original type of the stem *skambhani* (*°nī*) is variously given Macdonell, *VGr* §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a cpd of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī* We prefer to hold (with BR and Wackernagel 3 p 183) that it is fem to RV *skámbhana* If the accent of VS VSK (*skambhani'*, TS *°ni*) is correct, the rule would require *vṛkī* declension, so that in our variant VS would be regular, VSK irregular KS has no accents in this mantra but in 2 7 accents *skámbhanī*, which would suggest that the fem stem is a *devī* form In either case Tait texts have a shortening of the *ī*, as seems to be their tendency

diva (*divas, divah*) *skambhanir* (VS ŚB *°nīr*, VSK † KS † *°ny*) *asi* VS VSK KS TS ŚB TB ApŚ In KS 1 6 read *skambhany asi dhānyam asi*, acc to note on KS 31 5

§202 Nom pl in *ayas* for *īs* or *yas* (On the endings *īs* and *yas* in the *devī* declension see §213)

aṅgulayah śakvarayo diśaś ca me yajñena kalpantām VS *śakvarir aṅgulayo disas* TS MS KS The form *śakvarayo* is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring *aṅgulayah* (Wackernagel 3 p 184)

devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *disah* (MS KSA † *visah*) VS TS MS KSA The meter requires three syllables, *patnayah* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p 183 f)

nārīs (VS *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS *patnyo*) *loma* VS TS KSA

mahānāmnī revatayah TS MS KSA *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS See Wackernagel 3 p 184

§203 Instr pl in *ibhis* for *ībhis*

śamībhih śamyantu tvā VS *simībhih* (KSA † *śimi°*) *śimyantu tvā* TS KSA

§204 Voc sg in *e* for *i*, among the variants only by apparent assimilation to neighboring forms in *e*, as suggested for our first variant by Boehtlingk *ZDMG* 52 81, Wackernagel 3 p 185 top

sarasvate nu (GG *sarasvaty anu*) *manyasva* GG KhG ApG HG In preceding pāda occur *adite* and *anumate*, to which *sarasvate* seems assimilated

ā tubhyam adite mahi (TS *mahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Again doubtless assimilation of *mahe* to *adite*

4 Interchanges between different ī declensions

§205 So much for variants between long and short *i* declensions We now come to variations between forms proper to different *ī* declensions, that is to the three types *devī*, *vṛkī*, and *śrī* We begin with

§206 Nom sg in *ī* (of *devī* type) from *vṛkī* nouns In most of these variants the *īs* form is older, as we should expect *Vṛkī* nouns begin to appear with noms of *devī* type, lacking *s*, as early as RV itself (Wackernagel 3 p 172)

adurmañgalih (AV °*lī*, Ppp °*līṣ*) *patilokam ā viśa* (AV *viśemam*) RV AV Ppp SMB ApMB

gaurīr (AV *gaur in*, TB TA *gaurī*) *mimāya salilani takṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

viśvarūpa śabalir (KS *śavaly*) *agniketuh* TS KS PG

sinhīr asi TS MS ApŚ MŚ *sinhy asi* VS KS ŚB KŚ *sinhīr* (KS *sinhy*) *asi rāyaspoṣavanih* TS MS KS *sinhīr* (VS KS ŚB KŚ *sinhy*) *asi sapatnasahi* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ KŚ *sinhīr* (KS *sinhy*) *asi suprajāvanih svāha* TS MS KS *sinhy asi suprajavanih rayaspoṣavanih svaha* VS ŚB *sinhir* (VS KS ŚB *sinhy*) *asi ādityavanih* (MS adds *sajātavanih*) *svāha* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mahiṣīr (KS °*ṣy*) *asi* TS MS KS MŚ On this see Lanman, *NI* 368 In RV the word is *máhiṣī*, with accent and inflection of *devī* type, in TS MS *mahiṣī'r*, of *vṛkī* type KS accents *mahiṣy asi*, as if of *vṛkī* type, but yet has the *devī* ending Wackernagel 3 p 179 distinguishes two words, *mahiṣī* 'Buffelkuh', and *mahiṣī* 'Furstin', the latter he separates entirely from *mahiṣa* and regards as fem to compv *máhiyas* This however seems forced In RV 5 25 7d (repeated elsewhere) *mahiṣī* is commonly taken to mean 'she-buffalo'

samhitāsi viśvarūpī (TS ApŚ °*pīh*) VS TS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ As in the KS form of the preceding, VS accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vṛkī* form

phalgūr (KSA °*gur*) *lohitornī balakṣī* (VS *pal*°, KSA ms *valakṣīs*) *tāh* †*sārasvatyah* VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder emends KSA to °*kṣī*, but since MS VS TS make the word oxytone (KSA has no accents here), while the masc is paroxytone, it should belong to the *vṛkī* declension KSA therefore has the correct form, which should be kept

śam rātrī (VS *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK MS TA Mahīdhara and Griffith take *rātrīh* as plural, blithely undisturbed by the singular verb with which it goes It is indeed true that the preceding parallel pāda has *ahāni* 'days' as subject (but with properly plural verb) The *vṛkī* nom sg of *rātrī* is heretofore unrecorded (even in Wackernagel 3 p 185) On *rātrih* see §195

§207 Nom sg in *īs* (of *vṛkī* type) from *devī* nouns Such forms are much rarer, and generally dubious The first is the clearest variant, and in it Whitney calls *sarasvatīh* in AV a 'blunder' This however seems too drastic, especially since TB has the same form But it may be partly due to form assimilation to *tisro devīr* preceding (subject of *sadantām*, *sarasvatīh* is included in the subject)

sarasvatī (AV TB † °*tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS MS KS TB N Both edd of TB °*tīh*

sapatnīr abhibhūvarī (ApMB °*rīh*) RV † ApMB † The ending may be influenced by the preceding (acc pl !) *sapatnīr*, so Winternitz, p xxii

vāmī (KapS *vāmyā*) *te samdṛśi viśvam rcto dhesīya* (KS KapS *dhiṣīya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS KapS *vāmy*) *anu samdṛśi* MS KS KapS *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣnyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi viśvā retāmsi dhiṣīya* TS † Keith's translation of TS is scarcely possible We must apparently take *vāmī vāmīr* as nom sg fem , and *anu* as adverbial, *dhā* middle with *retas*, as commonly with *garbham* 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS KS 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS

bajābojopakāśinī HG *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB In VV 2 §381 it is suggested that ApMB may have a *vṛkī* form But two good mss read °*nī*, which may well be intended A plural would also be conceivable

§208 The nouns *srī* and *lakṣmī*, nom sg Two variants in the same passage concern these two words, the one a monosyllabic *i* stem, the other originally a *vṛkī* noun, so that both should have noms in *s*, and do so in Classical Sanskrit, where *lakṣmī* is the only *vṛkī* noun which regularly retains the old *s* ending This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the synonym *srī* (Wackernagel 3 p 171 f) Nevertheless the *devī* form, without *s*, of *lakṣmī* is known in the Veda (ibid p 175) In the MahānU form of the following variant not only is *alakṣmī* read without *s*, but it has even caused the neighboring *śrī(s)* to lose its *s*, producing a *devī* nom sg from a monosyllabic stem, which is nowhere recognized in our grammars (cf Wackernagel 3 p 172) All mss of MahānU seem to agree, and the comm supports the form

śrīr me bhajatu TA *śrī me bhajata* MahānU Followed by *†alakṣmīr me nakyatu* TA *alakṣmī me nasyata* MahānU

§209 Dat sg in *ai* (of *devī* type) from *vṛkī* and *śrī* nouns The *devī* ending in this and other oblique cases is well known as an alternative form in Classical Sanskrit with monosyllabic *ī* stems So in the Vedic *vṛkī* nouns, *ai* may replace *e*, cf Wackernagel 3 §88c The shift has its phonetic aspect, on which see VV 2 §705 We find one or two variants of each class

sukham meṣaya meṣyai VS ŚB *sugam meṣaya meṣyai* (RV *meṣye*) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ One ms of KS *meṣye* It may be noted that TS MS KS read *meṣyai*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS VSK ŚB accent *meṣyai*, as is proper for a *devī* form

veṣaśriyai (LŚ °*ye*) *tvā* Vait LŚ Add to VV 2 §705

śriyai (MG *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhavai*) MG ApMB

§210 Abl sg in *as* (of *vṛkī* type) from *devī* noun Contrariwise, a *devī* stem shows a *vṛkī* form in the abl sg in the following Strange to say, the irregularity occurs only in late sūtra texts (to be sure, of the RV school, perhaps a hyper-archaism?)

ayuṣmatyā (AŚ ŚŚ °*tya*) *ṛco ma gata* (Vait *mapagāyā*, Kauś *ma satsi*) *tanūpat* (ŚŚ °*pah*) *sāmnah* (AŚ *sāmna om*) TS AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś *ayuṣmatyā ṛco ma chaitsi* etc JB

§211 Loc sg in *yām* and *ī* We find one stray variant in which AV shows *i* against RV *yām* Wackernagel 3 pp 168, 170, admits only *yām* for *devī* nouns and only *ī* for *vṛkī* nouns He does not allude to this variant case, the stem occurs only here, so that there is no evidence for its original declension On it cf Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* p 49

āṣṭryām (AV *āṣṭrī*) *padam kṛnute agnidhāne* RV AV MG The accent is on the final in both RV AV

§212 Nom -acc dual in *yau* (of *vṛkī* type) from *devī* nouns In this case the original *vṛkī* ending began to displace the old ī of *devī* stems as early as AV, and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 175) As we saw above (§185), it even affected sporadically short *i* stems

ghṛtācī stho dhuryau pātam VS ŚB *ghṛtācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau pātam* MŚ

pavitre stho vaiṣnavyau (TB ApŚ °*vī*) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG *osadhya* (¹) *vaiṣnave* [from *ā* stem] *sthah* MŚ

yadārāghatī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadah* Vait *yadā rākhatyau vadatah* ApŚ An obscure n pr

§213 Nom (voc) pl *yas* (of *vṛkī* type) from *devī* nouns This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned, originally peculiar to the *vṛkī* type, *yas* appears in *devī* nouns in AV and becomes regular later Wackernagel 3 p 177 has noted many of our variants After two consonants *yas* is often spelled *iyas*, cf VV 2 §791

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB BG °*sā*) *sam viyantu* (PG *vyayasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG (In PG *devīr* is to be taken as acc VV 1 §70)

tisro rohinīr (KSA *rohinyo*, ms *rau*°) *vaśā maitriyah* (KSA °*tryah*) TS KSA To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791

tisro rohinīs (KSA °*nyas*) *tryavyas tā vasūnām* TS KSA

rohinīs (VS °*nyas*) *tryavayo vāce* VS MS

pañcāvīs (KSA °*vyas*) *tisra ādityānām* TS KSA

aniyatanyo maitriyah (MS °*nīr maitrīh*) VS MS

pāvamānīh (RVKh TB YDh °*nyah*) *punantu nah* (*tvā, mā, te*) SV RVKh TB MG YDh

nārīs (VS *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS *patnyo*) *loma* VS TS KSA

devīr vamrīr asya bhuvanasya (TS † *bhūtasya*) *prathamajā rtāvarīh* MS TA *devyo vamryo* (VSK *vamriyo*) *bhūtasya prathamajā makhasya vo 'dya śiro rādhyāsam* VS VSK ŚB Voes

tisrah silpā vasā vaisvadevyah TS KSA *silpā vaisvadevīh* (VS °*devyah*) VS MS †

mahānāmnī revatayah TS MS KSA *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS

tāh prācya (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ † °*hire*, Vait *samjigāire*) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś corjagāhire* ApŚ

phalavatyo (MS KSA °*vatīr*) *na oṣadhayah pacyantām* VS MS KSA ŚB *phalinyo na* TS TB

yasyā (RVKh VS *yasyām ımā*) *bahvyas tanvo vītaprṣṭhāh* RVKh VS MS *yasyaı bahvīs tanuvo vītaprṣṭhāh* TB

devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *dıśah* (MS KSA † *vıśah*) VS TS MS KSA

yā devīr antāń abhıto dadanta AV *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhıto* MG *yāś ca devīr antān* ApMB HG *yāś ca devīs tantūn* (SMB *devyo antān*) PG SMB See VV 2 §63

5 Other variants concerning ı and ī stems

§214 Stems in ı and ın Leaving now the interchanges between the feminine ı and ī declensions, we take up next a few cases of apparent confusion between ı and ın stems In the first two cases clear ın stems are provided in secondary texts with nominatives in ıs, as if from ı stems (cf Wackernagel 3 p 279 infra) In the other two cases here quoted, contrariwise, the SV substitutes nominatives in ī for RV ıs, the SV forms are taken by Benfey as from ın stems

dūrehetıh patatrī vājınīvān MŚ MG *dūrehetır ındrıyāvān* (PB † °*yavān*) *patatrī* (PG °*trıh*) TS PB TB PG ApMB

tan no dantī (TA *dantıh*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Stem *danti* otherwise unrecorded

vyānasıh (SV °*sī*) *pavase soma dharmabhıh* (SV *dharmanā*) RV SV

suparno avyathır (SV °*thī*) *bharat* RV SV Pān 3 2 157 records *avyathın*

§215 Highly anomalous is the following gen pl *mahınām* of VSK If textually sound it must apparently be due to the influence of ın stems, even a short ı stem of any gender should have ī in this case But since it seems necessary to take it as a feminine, its anomaly is increased, for *mahınām* could not pass for a gen pl fem even from an ın stem

mahīnām (VSK *mahınām*) *payo 'sı* VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG

6 Alternative case endings within the same declension

§216 Instr sg ī and *yā* We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no 'foreign' influence from a different ı or ī declension is to be assumed And first interchange between the old instr ending ī and the later *yā* The first concerns a *devī* noun, the rest short ı stems

aśvabhyām dugdham bhıṣajā sarasvatyā (MS °*vatī*) VS MS KS TB

acittī yat (AV *acittyā cet*) *tava dharmā yuyopıma* RV AV TS MS KS

yaḥ samidhā ya āhutī (KS °*tyā*) RV KS AŚ AG

dvābhyām iṣṭaye viṁśatyā (VS ŚB ŚŚ °*śatī*) *ca* AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ

dame-dame suṣṭutīr (AV KS °*tyā*, TS °*tīr*, MS °*tī*) *vām vyānā* (TS MS KS *vāvṛdhānā*, AV *vāvṛdhānau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The AŚ ŚŚ reading is corrupt TS *suṣṭutīr* is acc pl, MS *suṣṭutī* may be a dual adj, but may equally well be taken as instr sg

§217. Instr sg *i* and *yā* See Lanman NI 380 for the conditions under which *i* normally appears, namely at or near the end of a pāda We find variants only of *svasti* with °*tyā* The former is original in the first, and probably in the second, in the latter, however, it is adverbial and need not be felt as instr Cf Wackernagel II 1 p 123, III p 146 supra

sam sūribhir maghavan (RV MS KS *harivaḥ*, AV † *harivan*) *sam svastyā* (RV *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS *tenaitu yajamānaḥ svasti* (KS * ApŚ °*tyā*) TS KS (both) ApŚ

§218 Instr sg *inā* from fem nouns, and *yā* from masc nouns Here we find two cases (the first in the list) in which nouns which are regularly fem have the masc ending *inā*, and conversely two nouns usually masc have the fem ending *yā* To be sure *yā* was not originally restricted to the fem, and Wackernagel 3 p 147 regards MS *kikidīvyā* in our third variant as older than the RV °*vinā* To us this seems most unlikely, it is rather a late and secondary confusion, either of form or of gender (on change of gender see §§783-802)

pretinā dharmaṇā (MS *pretyā dharmaṇe*) *dharmam jinva* VS MS ŚB

vṛkṣam vāsinyā (HG °*ninā*) *jahi* AV HG

cāṣena kikidīvina (MS °*dīvyā*) RV VS MS KS

manina (KS *manyā*) *rūpāṇi* TS KS KSA

§219 The stem *pati* shows *patinā*, *pateḥ*, and *patyā*, *patyuḥ*, the latter two under the influence of nouns of relationship, cf Whitney Gr §343d, Wackernagel 3 p 142

upa preta marutaḥ sudānava (KS *svatavasa*) *enā viśpatinābhy amum rājānam* TS KS *preta marutaḥ svatavasa enā vispatyāmum rājānam abhi* MS MŚ

agne gṛhapate sugṛhapatir aham tvayā (with varr) *gṛhapatinā* (VSK °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś

sugṛhapatir mayā tvam (with varr) *gṛhapatinā* (VSK °*tyā*) *bhūyāḥ*, same texts

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS °*patih*, KB ŚŚ °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ

ito mukṣīya mā pateh ApŚ *mṛtyor mukṣīya mā patyuh* MŚ *preto muñcatu mā pateh* PG †

§220 Loc sg in *i* *ī* Despite Wackernagel's scepticism (3 p 155), which admittedly has much justification, we are inclined to hold that *upaśrutī* in the following is a loc , and probably *upaśruti* also, tho we have suggested the possibility of taking it as an adverbial (quasi-neuter) accus (VV 2 §525)

agne tvam vūktavūg asy upaśrutī (MS °*ti*, TB *upaśrito*) *divas* (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§221 Loc sg in *ā* *au* On the original distinction see Wackernagel 3 p 152 f , *au* belongs to the position before a pause (contrary to the usage in the nom -acc dual, §128), and internally before a vowel (being then represented by *ā* before *u* vowels, *āv* before others, in RV SV VS , for other schools see VV 2 p 414), while *ā* occurred before a following consonant Among the variants we find the shift only internally before a consonant Generally speaking late and secondary texts substitute *au* for original *ā*

rtasya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata RV *rtasya yonau mahiṣā agrbhnan* (TS KS ApMB *ahinvan*) TS MS KS ApMB

aya(h)sthūnam (TS °*nāv*) *udītau* (RV °*tā*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS

sīdan yonā (SV *yonau*) *vaneṣv ā* RV SV

utodītā (AV °*tau*) *maghavan sūryasya* RV AV VS TB ApMB

sattā ni yonā (SV *yonau*) *kalaśeṣu sīdati* RV SV

devo narāsanso 'gnau (ŚŚ † *'gnā*) *vasuvane* AŚ ŚŚ

sātā (SV VS *sātau*) *vājasya kāravah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ

[*mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito* (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS TS MS KS The accent of AV *pū'rvacittā* corresponds neither with *pūrvacito* nor with *pūrvacittau* Following p p it is usually taken as nom pl , for °*cittāh*, a poor substitute for °*cito* But the MS reading suggests that the p p may be wrong and a loc intended]

§222 Nom -acc sg neut in *im* No grammar recognizes the neuter ending *m* from *i* stems except for the pronoun *kim* (see e g Lanman N1 377, Wackernagel 3 §72) But TS TA agree on *sānasim* in the following, which can be nothing else It is of course due to the analogy of *a* stems, and perhaps to the direct suggestion in the following and parallel adjectives *dyumnam* (TS KS *satyam*) *citraśravastamam*

avo (TS MS KS TA *śravo*) *devasya sānasi* (TS TA °*sim*) RV VS TS MS KS TA

[*mā me hārdi* (MŚ *hārdim*) *tviṣā* (MŚ *dviṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ But here the different, masculine stem *hārdi* would be meant, if MŚ really intended *hārdim* (three mss *hārdi*)]

§223 Alternative writing of *iy* and *y* in stem final of *ī* and *i* stems This purely phonetic matter has been treated in VV 2 §§788-792 and need not be discussed here, as it does not really concern inflection

CHAPTER VI

LONG AND SHORT *U* STEMS

§224 The conditions here are different from those of the *i* and *ī* stems in several respects In the first place, there seems to have been no *ū* declension originally corresponding to the *devī* type Stems in *ū* were either declined like *vṛkī* (polysyllabic stems, type *tanū*) or like *śrī* (monosyllabic stems, type *bhū*) Forms analogous to *devī* begin to occur quite early, to be sure, in the case of *tanū* nouns, as early as the RV itself But these are rare in RV and are to be regarded as secondary This analogical influence, incidentally, never extended to the nom sg , which in *ū* stems always ends in *s*, even in later Sanskrit In oblique cases of the sing it is extended also to *ŭ* feminines, as in the *i* declension

§225 As in the case of *i* and *ī* stems, there is considerable interinfluence between long and short *u* stems But here the matter is complicated by a tendency which manifests itself quite early (already in RV) to develop a parallelism between masc and neut stems in short *u* and corresponding fems in *ū* (See Wackernagel 3 §§66b, 68b, 101) This appears both with *u* and *ū* stems The former are originally of common gender, and remain optionally so thruout the history of the language, the fem stem may be like the masc But *ū* nouns are mostly fem to begin with Hence at an early time adjectives in *u* (a very common type) tend to develop fems in *ū*, by the side of those in *u*, or also in *vī* (following the *devī* type, see below, §297) Conversely root stems in *ū* when used in composition, and even derivative (fem) nouns of the *tanū* type when so used, begin very early to develop masc and neut forms in short *u* We have noted above (§178, end) a single variant which seems to show a like tendency in *i* stems, which has heretofore not been noticed But adjectives in *i* were always relatively rare, and probably for this reason such a tendency never acquired much scope, whereas the very frequent *u*-stem adjectives afforded a wide field for its development Hence, in distinction from the interchange between *i* and *ī* stems, that between *u* and *ū* stems is usually found to be connected with this distinction of gender More concretely, it most commonly means that an original *u* stem shows fem forms alternatively

with *ū* for *u*, or an original *ū* stem shows masc or neut forms alternatively with *u* for *ū* To be sure, there are cases which go beyond these limitations For instance, even uncompounded *ū* fems show forms of the *u* declension (Wackernagel 3 §101a, and §232 below) And root-nouns, and even other nouns, in short *u* sometimes follow the *ū* declension even in the masc , or otherwise avoid the short *u* inflection (§227 ff), these *ū* forms are however regularly secondary in the variants containing them

1 *ū* forms (normally fem) from original *u* stems

§226 We shall begin with interchanges between long and short *u* forms, and first with stems which (at least as masculines or neuters) are originally short *u* stems The *ū* forms which occur are normally fem , but occasionally secondary texts show them in masc forms

§227 Nom sg in *ūs* from *u* stems The first variant concerns a fem adjective, so that *ū* is as normal as short *u* The others, however, are masc , the *ū* is here clearly secondary, the older form being *u*

phalgūr (KŚA °*gur*) *lohitornī balakṣī* (with varr , §206) *tāh* †*sārasvatyah*
VS TS MS KSA

śundhyur (VS TS °*yūr*) *asi mārjālīyah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ
avasyur (VS ŚB °*yūr*) *asi duvasvān* VS TS MS KS PB ŚB ŚS MS
v l °*yūr*

§228 Nom sg in *ūs* varying with *ut* As stated by Whitney, Gr §345, roots in *u* when used as root-nouns generally take a root-determinative *t* Forms declined as simple *u* stems occur, indeed, in the oldest language (Wackernagel 3 §66b), but are rare However, instead of adding *t*, sometimes root-nouns of this type show forms of the *ū* declension Given the rarity of root-nouns in *u*, without added *t*, it is not unnatural that the very familiar root-nouns in *ū* should affect forms from *u* roots We thus have a few variants in which a nom in *ut* varies with one in *ūs* In every case it seems that the variant originally had *ut*, and that *ūs* is secondary All are masculine The first two variants should be added to VV 2 §554

devaśrud imān pravape MS MŚ *devaśrūr etāni pravape* TS HG
devaśrut tvam deva gharma devo devān pāhi (MS *gharma devān pāhi tapojān*) VS MS ŚB *devaśrūs tvam deva gharma devān pāhi* TA ApŚ

havanasrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB

§229 Nom pl in (*u*)*vas* from *u* stems (The ending is doubtless always to be pronounced *uvas*, on the writing *vas* , *uvas* cf VV 2

§§788–93) The first three variants concern feminine adjectives, where the *ū* form causes no difficulty In the others the proper masc form *vipanyavas* of RV is changed to °*yuvas* in SV The latter form occurs in RV but only as a fem This change has a phonetic aspect, cf VV 2 §§601–4, and below §231 It is shown in VV 2 1 c that SV prefers *u* for *a* before *v*

vīrudhah pārayiṣnvah (TS MS KS °*navah*) RV VS TS MS KS N
tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvah (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS
sumnāyuvah (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS °*nyam*) *dhatta* MS KS
tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV VS NṛpU VāsuU SkandaU ĀrunU MuktiU
tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV

§229a Once, in a fem voc pl of a cpd of *kratu*, the RV has *-kratvas* (Wackernagel III §78), for which KS has the more regular *-kratavas*, while MS KapS substitute a sing *-krato* (still fem , not masc , cf Oertel 74)

adhā (TS MS *athā*) *śatakratvo* (KS † °*kratavo*, MS † KapS °*krato*) *yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB

§230 Instr -dat -abl dual in *ūbhyām* from *u* stem The variants concern the stem *hanu* Wackernagel 3 p 54 f explains the *ū* as derived from the nom dual *hanū*, but cf §189 above, where similar forms from *i* stems are mentioned We prefer to regard these cases as of the same sort as other long-vowel forms in short-vowel declensions Only TS has *ū*, cf §175a

hanūbhyām (KSA *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ
hanubhyām (TS *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS

2 *u* forms (normally masc -neut) from original *ū* stems

§231 Among the variants occur chiefly compounds of monosyllabic ('radical') nouns in original *ū*, in addition there is one case of *tanuh* varying with *tanūh*, in which the former is clearly secondary (cf Wackernagel 3 p 194), and one of a compound of this stem, a masc adjective in which *uh* (two texts) varies with *ūh* (one text, cf *ibid*) Nearly all the forms are of masculine or neuter gender, as is to be expected Only three cases are represented nom sg , dat sg , and nom pl In the two latter the phonetic moment of *a* *u* before *v* plays a rôle, see VV 2 §§601, 604, and above §229

§232 Nom sg in *us* from *ū* stems Besides the two cases of *tanū* just mentioned, the variants chiefly concern compounds of *bhū*, and are of masc gender

ıyam te yajñiyā tanūh (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ *ıyam* (VS ŚB *eṣā*) *te śukra tanūr* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

agne sadakṣah satanur (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS *agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ Masc adjectives

ābhur (MS KS *ābhūr*) *asya nıṣaṅgathih* (VS °*dhih*) VS TS MS KS Masc

śambhūr (KS °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB Masc , note retention of *u* in *mayobhūr* in KS

vibhūr (PB *vibhur*) *asi pravāhanah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ MŚ † HG Masc

vibhūr (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Masc

sumnahūr (KS *† °*hur*) *yajña* (TS *yajño devān*) *ā ca vakṣat* VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB MŚ Oertel 139 Add to VV 2 §554

śıtipāt chityoṣṭhah śıtibhrus (KSA † °*bhrūs*) TS KSA Masc Add to VV 2 §554

§233 Dat sg in *ave* from *u* stems Only in masc and neut compounds of *bhū* The writing *uve* for *ve* concerns phonetics, see VV 2 §789

abhibhuve (MS *abhibhve*, KS *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ

vibhuve (KS † *vibhave*, MS *vibhve*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ

samveśāyopaveśāya 'bhibhuve (MŚ *'bhibhave*) *svāhā* KS MŚ

arıṣṭyā avyathyai 'bhibhuve svāhā KS Add to VV 2 §604

§234 Nom pl in *avas* from *ū* stems In compounds of monosyllabic stems

śıtibhravo (MS °*bhruvo*) *vasūnām* VS MS Cf last variant in prec § but one

samudram na subhvah svā abhiṣṭayah RV *samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhuvas*, TB Poona ed *suhuvam*) *tasthivānsam* AV TB ApŚ *mahiṣam nah subhvam tasthivānsam* MS Pp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret emends *subhuvas*, suggesting also *subhuvam* (*JAOS* 35 46), *subhavas* would do perhaps as well as *subhuvas*, altho the AV comm understands the word as fem (if the nom is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain, in RV , perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvah* is fem , the acc form must be masc)

3 Influence of *devī* declension on *u* and *ū* stems

§235 This has been discussed above in §225 The variants are mostly *ū* stems of the *tanū* type, to which are added one or two short *u* stems (On fem adjectives in *vī* see §297)

§236 Acc sg *tanūm tanvam* Only this stem varies in the acc sg , *tanūm* is not Rigvedic

savitrā prasūtā daivyā āpa undantu te tanūm (VSK *tanvam*, the jaṭā-pāṭha has *tanūm*) *dīrghāyutvāya varcase* VSK KŚ PG

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS AA AŚ ŚŚ *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS KSA *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS KŚ

na te tanūm tanvā sam paprcyām AV *na vā u te tanvā tanvam* (AV *te tanūm tanvā*) *sam paprcyām* RV AV

§237 Dat sg in *vai* from *ū* stems (*tanū* type), cf VV 2 §705 To these cases are to be added those in which the form in *vai* is used in the sense of a genitive and varies with *vas* They are grouped in §144

śam v astu tanvai tava VS *śam u te tanve* (TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS KSA *śam astu tanve mama* AV In VS the svarita accent is retained in *tanvài*

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

samveśanas tanuvai (SV KS MŚ *tanve*) *cārur edhi* SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ In the accented texts (TB TA) the svarita accent of *tanvè* is retained in *tanúvai*

kuhvai (KSA *kuhve*) *trayo 'runaitāh* TS KSA Von Schroeder emends KSA to *kuhvai* TS accents *kuhvài*, i e with the svarita of *kuhvè*

§238 Dat sg in *vai* from short *u* stems One variant from the fem noun *jīvātu* The others are infinitives in *tavai tave* See above, §183 We do not think it likely that the infinitive ending *tavai* is really due to the direct influence of the *devī* declension, it is hardly likely to be a feminine form at all But as it is externally similar to these forms, it seems that such variants must be included here (NB By an incomprehensible and most deplorable slip, VV 2 §705 records the variant *sunavai* °*ve* in *śakrāya su*° *tvā* RV JB as a dative form [Also *indrāya su*° *tvā* in the same passage should have been quoted] The form is of course a 1st sg subj , and might have been noticed in VV 1 §26, but *sunave* is doubtless a bad reading, if not a phonetic simplification, Oertel *JAOS* 18 28 reads as RV)

agnes tvā mātrayā jīvātave TS KS *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jīvātvai* MS

daśamāsyāya sūtave (HG °*vai*) ApMB HG Also *daśame māsi sūtave* RV etc

havyāyāsmai vodhave (KS °*vai*) *jātavedah* TS MS KS Kauś

puṁse putrāya vettavai (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*, KS † *kartave*, MG *kartavai*, v l °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU ApŚ ApMB HG MG

§239 Abl sg in *vās* from *ū* stem (*tanū*)

agne yan me tanvā (TS *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *yan me agna ūnam tanvas tan* MS KS The accented texts (VS TS ŚB) retain the svarita accent of the older *tanvàs* (TS *tanúvā*)

§240 Loc sg in *vām* from *ū* stem (*tanū*)

svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata MS AA AŚ ŚŚ *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* AV *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS KSA *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS KŚ As above, the svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS *tanuvām*)

[*svāyām* †*tanūn* (RV *tanū*) RV ApMB MG Knauer mistakenly regards *tanūn* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*, but see VV 2 §308]

§241 Nom pl in *ūs* from (fem of an) *u* stem

māndā vāśāh śundhyūr (KS *śundhyuvo*) *ajirāh* TS KS Nom pl fem adjective, the ending *ūs* is anomalous in either *u* or *ū* stems, and is clearly due to the analogy of *devī* forms, more specifically, to the parallel *īs* (and *ās*?) forms in the context

4 Alternative case endings within the same declension

§242 We come now to forms which can hardly be said to be due to any known 'foreign' influence, at least within historic times, that is, variant forms both of which may be called proper to one declension, so far as the usage of our texts goes Cf the similar *i* and *ī* forms, §§216 ff

§243 Instr sg *unā* and *vā* One variant of *madhu*, see Lanman NI 409, Wackernagel 3 p 146, and next section

kratum rihanti madhunābhy (SV *madhvābhy*) *arjate* RV AV SV

§244 Abl sg *os* and *vas* The variants concern *madhu* and *vasu*, for both of which the regular forms in RV are *madhvah*, *vasvah* (Wackernagel 3 §75a note, cf §69a) In all the variants RV shows these forms, while later texts substitute *madhoh*, *vasoh*, which are rare in RV but regular later

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* RV SV

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV SV

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pibanti gauryah* RV SV AV MS

madhvah (VS * MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhoh*) *pibatam aśvinā* RV VS (both) MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

madhvas (AV SV *madhoś*) *cakānaś cārur madāya* AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

madhvo (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV

ed u madhvo (SV PB *madhor*) *madintaram* RV AV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ

vasvah (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA MahānU

vasor vaso purusprhah SV *vaso vasvah purusprhah* RV

§245 Loc sg in *ū* *vi* (*uvi*), and in *vi* *vī*

srucīva ghrtam camvīva (TB ApŚ *camū iva*) *somah* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The loc of this word is otherwise *camū* in RV The isolated *camvīva* is parallel to and perhaps influenced by *srucīva*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 188 Yet the similar *tanvì* is regular

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS *tanuvi*) *repa ā dhuh* RV TS

§246 Loc sg in *ā* *au* Wackernagel 3 p 153 says that *ā* for *au* in *u* stems is not proved, despite the frequent occurrence of it in the parallel form of *i* stems, he denies various cases which have been suggested He says nothing about the form *sumnayā*, which seems to us a more likely instance than any other This isolated form is commonly considered an instrumental, from an otherwise unknown stem *sumnayā* It occurs only once in RV (in the variant here quoted, 10 101 4), and the AV variant has *sumnayau* AV 7 55 1 has *sumnayā* (the only occurrence in AV and apparently the only other one anywhere), and Whitney notes that there a locative seems required To us it seems almost certain that *sumnayā* is loc to the familiar stem *sumnayu* Render 'the wise (*kavis* span the yokes etc) before the gods, before (presumably = for the benefit of) the pious man '

dhītā deveşu (KS * *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV °*yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB

§247 Nom acc sg neuter in *u* *ū* This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening, the padapāṭhas have in fact *u* for *ū* Only one variant has been found (cf VV 2 §555)

sa hi purū (SV *puru*) *cid ojasā virukmatā* RV SV

§248 Nom acc pl neuter in *u* *ūni* (*ū*)

visvā vasu (TS ApMB *vasūni*) *dadhire vāryāni* RV VS TS KS ApMB (KS v l *vasū*) The meter is better in the original form, *vasūni*, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult

[*sam grbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū*) *śatā* RV AV MS KS TB]

§249 Loc sg in *vam* (?) *vām* One variant contains a form which can only be intended as a locative of *tanū*, and which appears according to well-established tradition as *tanvam* in two sūtra texts, while a third has the regular *tanvām* Caland in his translation of ApŚ adopts *tanvām* from MŚ , we should probably follow him but for the fact that AŚ certainly read *tanvam*, as well as ApŚ (the AŚ comm repeats the form),

this seems to us to make it certain that the form *tanvam* is no mere scribal error The preceding adjective *viśvabhṛti*, which can only modify *tanvam*, makes it equally certain that the form is meant as a locative No such form, with short *a* before *m*, is recognized in any grammatical authority We know of only one other place at which it might with some plausibility be assumed, this is AV 19 37 2, *varca ā dhehi me tanvàm*, here SPP reads *tanvām* with the comm and one ms , cf Lanman, *NInfl* 412 Another way out in this case would be to take *tanvàm* as acc (cf §380, and on two accusatives with verbs of placing §535) (Lanman l c mentions also AV 19 55 3 *tanvàm*, suggesting that *tanvām* be read, but here the acc is quite possible as object of *puṣema*) While we have no explanation for the form, we find it impossible to deny that at least in the ApŚ AŚ form of the following variant, and perhaps also in AV 19 37 2, *tanvam* is used as loc sg of *tanū*

prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvam (MŚ *°vām*) *hutam asi svāhā* (AŚ omits *svāhā*) AŚ 3 11 11 (omitted in Conc) ApŚ MŚ 'Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati '

§249a On *tanūn*, loc sg , for *tanū*, see VV 2 §308

§250 Voc sg neuter *u o* In one variant this shift occurs, cf Wackernagel 3 §77, Whitney §336h, where VSK *uru* should be added to the small stock of voc neut forms of the *u* declension We may note that AV TS have this pāda in nominative form (*urv antarikṣam*), and VSK may possibly have been influenced thereby (a sort of blend of the two readings) But VV 2 §912 is wrong in calling VSK 'illogical'

dyāvāpṛthivī uro (VSK † *urv*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS TB

§251 Alternative writing of *uv* and *v* in stem final of *u* and *ū* declensions As in the similar case of *iy y* (§223), we refer to VV 2 §§788–93 for this phonetic or orthographic question

CHAPTER VII

R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

1 Stems in *r*

§252. Most of the few variants concerning this declension are cases of genitive plurals In this case-form TS has only short *ṛ* (Keith, *HOS* 18, cxli, cxlviii), the variants show the same form sporadically in TA and MS It should be noted that ApŚ according to Garbe's text (which reports no variants) fails to follow TS in this respect in its two variants Is this due to editorial carelessness?

svāveśo 'sy agregā netṝnām (TS *netṛ°*) TS MS KS *agrenīr asi svāveśa unnetṝnām* VS ŚB Three mss of MS also *netṛ°*

ākhuḥ kaśo te pitṝnām VS VSK MS *pāñktraḥ* (but see VV 2 §418) *kaśo te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṝ°*) TS KSA

pitṝnām (TS † MS *pitṛ°*) *ca manmabhiḥ* RS VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ Kauś N

pitṝnām (TS *pitṛ°*) *sadanam asi* TS ApŚ

devānām tvā pitṛnām (ApŚ *pitṝ°*) *anumato bhartum śakeyam* TA ApŚ

yā no dadātī śravanam pitṝnām KS *sā no dadātu śravanam pitṝnām* (TS *pitṛ°*) TS MS AŚ ŚŚ N

dhātā dhātṝnām (TS † *dhātṛ°*) *bhuvanasya yas patiḥ* RV TS KS

prajananam vai pratiṣṭhā pitṝnām (TA Poona ed *pitṛ°*, v l *pitṝ°*) TA MahānU

astāvy agnir narām (MS *nṛnām*) *suśevaḥ* RV VS MS Both these genitives of *nṛ* are Rigvedic

§253 In strong case forms of nouns of relationship, Tait texts twice present the vriddhi instead of the guna grade in compounds (cf Wackernagel 2 1 §43a)

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB *°pitārā*) RV TB

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu°*) *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS † *°tāras*) TS MS KS BDh VıDh

§254 The gen -loc dual ending *ros* is regularly pronounced dissyllabically (as *uros* or *ṛos*? Wackernagel 3 §113) The TB reading of the

following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation, see VV 2 §368

asammṛṣṭo jāyase mātroḥ (TB *mātṛvoḥ*) *śuciḥ* RV TB

2 Consonant stems variant ablaut forms

§255 We find first a group of cases concerning real or apparent variation in ablaut grade of consonantal stems Most often the vowel *a*, of normal (guna) grade, varies with *ā* which on its face is vriddhi grade, tho it may be actually due to secondary analogy of one sort or another The same guna form in *a* may also vary in weak cases with zero grade We begin with a case of nom sg masc of a stem in *-sad*, lengthened to *-sād* in two texts It has been noted in VV 2 §499 that the grammars do not recognize ablaut in this stem

viśvā āsā dakṣiṇasat (AB AŚ °*sāt*, ŚŚ *dakṣinataḥ*, LŚ *dakṣinadhak*) VS MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

§256 And once we find what appears to be lengthening of the *a* in the nom of a participial stem in *ant* If correct, this would doubtless be caused by the analogy of *mant* and *vant* stems But it occurs in an unpublished part of MŚ and is suspicious (VV 2 §503)

anadvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ Note *anadvāns* in the same pāda

§257 Nom -acc neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem, but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc The variants contain two compounds of *pad* appearing in RV regularly as *pad*, but in later texts as *pād*, and one case of an *s* stem See Wackernagel 3 pp 235, 288

dvipac catuṣpad (AV Ppp VS Kauś *dvipād catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV AV Ppp VS VSK TS Kauś

dvipac catuṣpad (SV *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV SV

yachā naḥ sarma saprathaḥ (VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °*thāḥ*) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N *yachāsmai śarma saprathāḥ* AV TS That *s* stems occasionally show nom acc neut forms in *ās* is certain (Lanman 560, Wackernagel l c , 228, and cf next variant) Since *saprathas* is a standard epithet of *śarman*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem , agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS) Cf VV 2 §502

[*śarmā* (TA °*ma*) *saprathā āvṛṇe* KS TA *śarma yachātha saprathaḥ* AV But all mss of AV °*thāḥ*, which should be read, VV 2 §502]

§258 The acc sg of masc *s* stems normally has short *a* But in

one variant the KS ms reading shows *ā* Wackernagel 3 p 182 denies this lengthening to other *s* stems than *uṣas*, and von Schroeder emends the KS to short *a*, but cf Whitney §415b, 2, 3 We see no reason for refusing to recognize the KS form with *ā*, tho we do not doubt that it is analogical and secondary, it may be metri gratia, see VV 2 §502. *viśām agnim atithim suprayasam* (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS

§259 The stem *ayās* normally shows no ablaut, the *ā* being always long In some secondary texts, however, weak case forms are made with short *a*, on the analogy of *as* stems So Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v, convincingly Geldner, *VSt* 3, 122, n 5, and Wackernagel 3 p 282, derive the form *ayasā* from the different stem *ayas*, 'iron', which in some occurrences seems to us clearly impossible

ayasā manasā dhṛtah ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś Cf also *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe*, with variants, below §416, and VV 2 §502

§260 The stem *vṛṣan* regularly has no vriddhi in its strong cases But occasionally, by analogy with other *n* stems, such forms as *vṛṣānas* occur (Wackernagel 3 p 267)

vṛṣanah (TB *vṛṣānah*) *samidhīmahi* RV AV SV TB ŚB Both nom pl

§261. The stem *ap*, *āp*, 'water', regularly has *āpas* in the nom and *apas* in the acc, but the two are occasionally interchanged The variants show one such interchange in the acc, the only recorded variant for the nom is due to an editorial error

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv acārisam* RV VS MS KS ŚB AŚ LŚ MŚ MG ApMB Note that RV itself has *āpo* as acc

[*śam no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayah* (*apa oṣadhīh*) *śivāh* AV (both) So RWh, but *āpa* is an emendation, withdrawn by Whitney in his translation The word is *apa* both times, tho nom, VV 2 §498 suggests metrical shortening]

§262 In compounds of *han*, we find the strong stem *-han* instead of the weak *-ghn* in the acc pl cf Wackernagel 3 p 328

rakṣoghno (MŚ MŚ add *vo*) *valagaghnah prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* MS KS ApŚ MŚ *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* (ApŚ **† vaiṣnavam*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ (bis)

rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vamñcāmi (and, *'vastṛnāmi*) *vaiṣnavān* KS (bis) *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastṛnāmi vaiṣnavān* VS VSK TS ŚB

§263 In a single variant ApMB may possibly show a nom pl masc form of a participle with weak instead of strong stem, a kind of con-

fusion which is more extensively found in Prakrit That a nom is intended seems to us virtually certain (cf the following *ukṣamāṇāḥ* which is perfectly parallel) To be sure the state of the text of ApMB is such that almost anything is conceivable, cf Winternitz xvii And, as W suggests, the true reading might be *vahato ukṣamāṇāns*, with both epithets acc , going with *gṛhān* in the first pāda

irām vahanto (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG ApMB MG *irām vahantaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ* HG

§264 Finally, from *mant* and *vant* stems are occasionally formed nom -acc pl neuter forms with lengthened *ā* Among the variants they occur only in RV , and are replaced in SV by the 'regular' forms with short *a* Cf Whitney §454c (the statistics are incomplete), and Wackernagel 3 p 258 f

ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV °*vanti roha*) RV SV

miteva sadma paśumānti (SV °*manti*) *hotā* RV SV *pari sadmeva paśumānti hotā* RV

3 Interinfluence of stems in *vant*, *vāns*, *(v)as*, *van*

§265 The similarity in form and meaning between formations of this sort has led to various confusions, some of which established themselves as regular elements in Vedic declension This is most strikingly true of the vocative forms of *vant* and *vāns* stems (Wackernagel 3 pp 258, 301) It must be assumed that the original voc endings were *van* and *vas* respectively But in the Rigveda *vas* is used almost exclusively from *vant* stems, by analogy with the *vāns* stems Conversely, in later Sanskrit, beginning with the AV , *van* is used in the voc of *vāns* stems, by analogy with the *vant* stems which in post-RV times had this ending, the analogy was assisted by the nom sg masc *vān*, which coincided with the ending of *vant* stems We find a considerable number of variants between vocatives in *vas* and *van* from *vant* stems, and one (the first) from a *vāns* stem In all cases where the chronology is clear, *vas* is the older reading

hotaś cikitvo (AV °*vann*) *avṛṇīmahīha* RV AV

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV (Ppp also °*tvan*)

namas te astu bhagavah (GB MG °*van*) VS TS MS KS GB TA MG *namas te bhagavann astu* VS

agnā3i patnīvan (VSK † *agne vākpatni*, MS KS MŚ *patnīvā3n*, TS *patnīvā3h*) *sajūr devena* (MS KS *sajūs*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

ye te sarasva (KS °*vann*) *ūrmayah* RV TS MS KS N
viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah (SV °*van*) RV SV TS MS KS TA N
sam sūribhir maghavani (RV MS KS *harivah*, AV *harivani*) *sam svastyā* (RV *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
vivasva ādityaisa te somapīthas TS KS *vivasvann* (VSK °*vān*) *ādityaisa te somapīthah* VS VSK MS ŚB MŚ
divo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya* KS (bis) *devajūte vivasvann ādityā* MS

§266 Otherwise the variants here all concern nom sg masc forms Twice *vant* forms (in *vān*) are substituted for the older *van* form (in *vā*) from *maghavan*, which quite commonly appears as *-vant* even in later Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 264 f)

svasti na indro maghavān krnotu AV *svasti no maghavā dhātv indrah* RV VS TS MS KS MahānU *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS TA MahānU *idam havir maghavā vetv indrah* SV
satrācyā maghavā (SV *maghavānt*) *somapītaye* RV AV SV

§267 The others are purely sporadic The stem *sv-avas*, an *s* stem in which the preceding *v* is radical, not suffixal, is once, in RV itself, drawn into the *vant* (or *vāns*?) declension, showing a nom in *vān* (Wackernagel 3 p 287) In the other variant a perf pple in *vāns* shows in a secondary reading a nom in *vā*, as if from a *van* stem (perhaps aided also by *as* stems? followed by *y*, so that *-ās* would appear as *-ā*) Wackernagel 1 p 332, 3 p 300 supra, has noted this variant, he seems to think that external sandhi (before *y*) may be concerned in the form in *-vā*, but he recognizes the unquestionable occurrence of *van* forms from *vāns* stems elsewhere, and we see no reason to doubt that *-vā* is such a form

sumrdīkah (VSK °*līkah*) *svavān* (VS VSK *svavā*) *yātv arvān* RV VS VSK
dadhanvān (VS ŚB TB °*vā*, MS KS °*vān*) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

4 Stems in *n*

§268 Aside from one or two *van* forms, mentioned in the preceding sections, and one case of different ablaut grades noted in §260, most of the variants concerning *n* stems fall into four groups neuter plurals in *a*, *ā*, and *āni*, oblique cases of the singular with and without the vowel *a* in the stem, instrumentals singular of *man* stems with *nā* for *mnā*, and locatives singular in *an* and *ani*

§269 Neuter plurals We should expect to find here a number of

variations between *āni* and *ā* (or *a*), both being common endings of *n* stems in the nom -acc neuter pl , and this variation being common in *a* stems, which took over the ending *āni* from *n* stems (§160 ff) Strange to say, we have found hardly a single clear case The best is *sarvā devānām janimāni vidvān* Kauś , which seems rather a vague parallel to, than a genuine variant of, *viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvāni deva*) *janimā vivakti* AV TS KS (§164) Otherwise we find only variants in which the shorter form is probably intended as singular, varying with a plural in *āni*, such as

vocad brahmāni (SV *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV SV TS MS The SV *brahma* (so p p) is no doubt to be taken as sg with Benfey (who connects it with *tat*)

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭih AV *kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāh* MS The AV is undoubtedly sg

§270 Among neuter plural forms of *n* stems we find, therefore, chiefly variations between *ā* and *a*, where the long vowel cannot be regarded as rhythmically lengthened (VV 2 §459 f , Wackernagel 3 p 276) In each of our variants short *a* of RV is replaced in AV by *ā*, the variations are all noted in Lanman NI 540

yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma (AV *nāmā*) RV AV

varma (AV *varmā*) *sīvyadhvam bahulā prthāni* RV AV KS ApŚ

trinsad dhāma (AV *dhāmā*, MS *trinsaddhāmā*) *vi rājati* RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB (The AV variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460) Pratika in MŚ The compound of MS MŚ is to be taken as masc nom sg , but AV has a neut pl

§271 In one variant all MS KS mss have the form *dhāman*, for *dhāma* of the other texts The preceding adjective *divyāni* proves that only an acc pl can be intended The form is best understood as a sort of blend with the loc sg (of goal, the word is dependent on a verb of motion)

upa pra yāhi (TS † *yāta*) *divyāni dhāma* (MS KS °*man*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The KapS has *dhāma*

§272 Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of *a* in the stem The *a* was regular after a long syllable It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants, and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced) Cf Lanman, *NI* 524, Wackernagel 1 p 11, 3 p 268, Edgerton, *Language* 10 260

somah kalase satayāmnā (SV AV °*yāmanā*) *pathā* RV SV AV Here,

as just stated, the meter proves that RV pronounced °*yāmanā*, in SV AV it is written so

ṛtasya tvā vyomane (MŚ *vyomne gṛhnāmi*) TS MŚ

ojase balāya tvodyache vṛṣane śuṣmāyāyuṣe varcase (MS KS *vṛṣne śuṣmāya*) MS KS TB ApŚ Here the *a* (in TB ApŚ) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary

§273 Instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, type *mahinā* On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p 268 f, and literature there cited, especially Bloomfield *JAOS* 16, clvi

vaiśvānaro mahimnā (TS *mahinā*, KŚ *mahīnām*) *viśvakṛṣṭiḥ* (TS KŚ *viśvaśambhūḥ*) RV TS KŚ This is the only occurrence in RV of the metrically bad *mahimnā* after the cesura, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 50 7

etāvatī mahinā (AV *mahimnā*) *sam babhūva* RV AV Cf prec

antarikṣāyarṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varimṇā prathantu TS *ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā* (VS *varimnā*) *prathantu* VS MS KS *divo mātrayā varinā* (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasva* VS TS MS KS ŚB In the last, which is metrical, *varinā* makes better meter

dyaur iva bhūmnā pṛthivīva (VSK *bhūmir iva*) *varimnā* VS VSK ŚB *dyaur mahnāsi bhūmir bhūnā* (KS Kauś *bhūmnā*) MS KS Kauś *bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur varinā* TS

§274 Loc sg in *an* *ani* On this see Wackernagel 3 p 273 The ending *an* is characteristic of older and heratic language It also differs from *ani* in being a syllable shorter, the majority of our variants show the form at the end of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas, so that either ending makes good meter In these variants, where the longer ending *ani* is found in RV, the surrounding pādas are *jagatī*, so that the RV reading matches them, in such cases the substitution of *an* is apparently due to conscious heraticism In other cases the ending *ani* is secondary and introduces a jagatī pāda in an otherwise triṣṭubh verse It is shown by Wackernagel, following Eggeling and Caland, that the Kānva recension of the Vājasaneyin school prefers *ani*, against Mādhyamdina *an*, but if such variants occur in mantras, we have not noticed them, so that our variants happen to show no trace of this

§275 The cases in which the variant word ends its pāda (triṣṭubh or jagatī) are the following Four times out of six the *ani* ending is secondary In all except the first the secondary ending (whether *ani* or *an*) makes the pāda metrically inconsistent with its context, at least in certain texts

mā samsṛkṣāthām parame vyoman (AB AŚ *vyomani*) VS MS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ Here the stanza is otherwise jagatī, the AB AŚ reading seems to be a (secondary) patching of this pāda to make it consistent

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

praty añgeṣu prati tiṣṭhāmy ātman (SMB *ātmani*) VS KS ŚB TB SMB HG

tam pratyañcam arciṣā vidhya marman (AV *marmani*) RV AV According to Roth Ppp reads *marman*

satyadharmāṇā parame vyomani (MS *vyoman*) RV MS

sa jāyamānah parame vyomani (RV * °*mani*) RV (ter) MS In RV consistent with context as to meter

§276 The next two variants are prose, chronological priority is not very clear

apām tvā bhasman (MS KS *bhasmani*) *sādayāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB It is possible that MS really read *bhasmani* (see v Schr 's note)

asmin brahmany asmin karmany AV *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre 'smin karmany* ŚŚ *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre* KS *asmin brahmann asmin kṣatre 'syām āśiṣy asyām purodhāyām asmin karmann* (PG *karmany*) *asyām devahūtyām* TS ApŚ PG *te nah pāntv asmin brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany* MS The preponderance of texts seems to point to older *ani*

§277 Thrice the hieratic ending *an* is introduced secondarily to the detriment of the meter

tam ātmani (TS *ātman*) *pari gṛhnīmahe vayam* (MS *gṛhnīmasīha*) TS MS KS

śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ Clearly *ahani* is required by the meter

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmani kṣor anīke* RV Benfey is certainly right in regarding *dharmam* as merely a way of writing *dharman* (note that a dental consonant follows)

§278 Otherwise both forms may be real metrically, if final *y* in *any* (before a vowel) be pronounced as a consonant, or other changes accompany the shift and make the meter sound

yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS *yasyās ta āsani ghore juhomi* AV *yasyās te asyāh krūra āsañ juhomi* TS ApŚ *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS ŚB

ātmann (IśāU *ātmany*) *evānupaśyati* VS IśāU

[*divye dhāmann* (TB Conc **dhāmany*) *upahūtah* (TB **°tā*) TS MS TB (bis) Poona ed of TB *dhāmann* both times]

[*tṛtīye dhāmāny abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS TA † MahānU † Conc *dhāmany* for *dhāmāny*]

§279 As an addendum to the *n* declension, we may mention an isolated curiosity which concerns noun formation rather than inflection

dhāmne tvā KS *dhāmyai tvā* ApŚ The latter is due to attraction to the forms which follow in the series of formulas, viz *sanyai*, *vittyai*, *śaktyai*, *bhūtyai*

§280 The Concordance erroneously reports a voc sg variant of a neuter *n* stem

[*vācaspate vidhe nāman* (AŚ Conc *nāma*, but text *nāman*) KS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ]

Compare the next, where the forms are obscure but look like vocatives of *in* stems

lājī3ñ chācī3n (MS *lājī3 śācī3*) *yavye gavye* (TS KSA TB ApŚ *sacī3n yaśo mamā3m*) VS TS MS KSA 4 9 (add in Conc) ŚB TB ApŚ See Keith's note on TS , but the MS form may intend a voc in *i* (not *in*)

5 Heteroclitic stems and the like

§281 Stems in *an* and *i*, type *asthán* *ásthi* On these see Wackernagel 3 p 302 ff The variants show shifts between the two forms of the stem in the nom -acc pl (strong stem), and in the weak cases, both those with *bh* endings and the 'weakest' forms Sometimes the accent—regularly recessive in the *i* stem but on the stem final in the *an* stem—reveals the secondary character of one form

teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣīni*, Ppp *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV AV Ppp Both accents regular

añgāni ca me sthāni (VS and v l of MS *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS p p writes *ásthāni*

asthabhyah (KSA *asthi°*) *svāhā* VS KSA No accent in KSA

bhadram paśyemākṣabhir (KS † and v l of MG *°ākṣibhir*) *yajatrāh* RV SV VS MS KS TA ApŚ MG NṛpU NṛuU Accent *akṣíbhir* in KS anomalous

akṣyoś (MŚ *akṣnoś*) *cakṣuh* TS TAA MŚ PG *cakṣur akṣnoh* AV Vait No v l quoted for MŚ , but mss of AV mostly *akṣyoś* (or *akṣoś*, a bad writing for the same, cf VV 2 §335, where this might have been quoted), some mss of Vait also *akṣyoś*, which should be read in AV Vait (see Whitney's note)

cakṣur ā dhattam akṣyoḥ (MŚ *akṣnoḥ*) TS MŚ

§282 Stems in *s r* (Wackernagel 3 p 310 ff) The single variant noted concerns *ūdhar ūdhas* as a locative, cf Wackernagel l c 311. Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 70 8, both of whom are inclined to deny any loc *ūdhar* (not to speak of *ūdhas*) It seems, however, impossible to construe the form in the following variant otherwise than as loc It is very possible that *ūdho* (*ūdhas*) is the true reading of all texts, for most MŚ mss read *ūdho 'dı°*

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, MŚ *ūdhar adıter*, KS *ūdho adıter*) *upasthe* VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ

§283 Strong cases of stem *panthā*(*n*) The older forms (stem *panthā*) are replaced in secondary texts by those from stem *panthan*, sometimes (in the first quoted cases) clearly to the detriment of the meter, but usually this is patched up by other changes Once even occurs *pathayo* as nom pl (from stem *pathi*)

anṛkṣarā ṛjavaḥ santu panthāḥ (AV *panthānaḥ*) RV AV ApMB

ye te panthāḥ (TS KS TB ApŚ *panthanaḥ*) *savitaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ* RV VS TS KSA TB ApŚ

ye te pantha adho divaḥ SV Svidh *ye te panthāno 'va divaḥ* AV

emam panthām aruṅkṣāma AV *sugam panthānam āruṅkṣam* ApMB

panthānam bhrūbhyam VS *panthām* (p p *panthānam*) *bhrū°* MS

tam panthānam (Ppp Roth, *panthām*) *jayemānamitram ataskaram* AV Ppp

ye panthāno bahavo devayānāḥ AV *ye catvārah pathayo devayānāḥ* TS SMB PG BDh Wackernagel p 308 plausibly suggests influence of the phrase *pathibhir devayānaih*

§284. Weak forms of *path*(*i*) Once the instrumentals *pathā* and *pathyā* from this stem interchange In RV VS ŚB *pathyā* may indeed be taken as nom (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr

vi sloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *°kā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūrih*, *sūrah*, *sūrāh*, VV 2 §328) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

§285 The stem *āsan āsya* See Wackernagel 3 p 317 An interesting blend form *āsyan*, loc sg , a cross between *āsan* and *asye*, seems to have been the true Atharvan reading (AV GB Kauś , and possibly Vait ?) in the following, it has not been noted by the Conc or the grammarians See VV 2 §328 Most AV and Kauś mss have *āsyan*, and Gaastra adopts it for GB , it is, to be sure, not noted by Garbe as found in Vait mss

vāṇ ma āsan (MŚ PG *āsye*) AV TS GB TAA Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś PG BDh

pari svayam cinuṣe annam ūṣye (SV *āsani*) RV SV In a jagatī stanza, read *āsiye* in RV, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 253 ff

§286 The stem *yoṣan(ā) yoṣā* See Wackernagel 3 p 112 The only variant noted concerns the acc sg *yoṣām yoṣanām*, both forms are metrically consistent with their surroundings (both RV), and there is no evidence of priority

ny ūhathuh purumitrasya yoṣām (and *yoṣanām*) RV (both)

§287 The stem *yūṣan yūṣa* See Wackernagel 3 p 317

apo yūṣnā (TS KSA *yūṣṇa*) VS TS MS KSA

§288 Stems *rai rayi* See Wackernagel 3 p 214 ff, and for the phonetic aspect of this variation VV 2 §396

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS ŚB TB MŚ (Conc also AŚ ApŚ under the last, but the same passage is meant) *rayyai* is late and secondary

CHAPTER VIII

DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

§289 Compare the last section (*rai rayi*) Besides this, the variants noted all concern the stem *div* (*dyu*), except one isolated case of instr sg *nāvayā* varying with *nāvā* from *nau* On this latter see Wackernagel 3 p 224 The RV original has *nāvayā*, which has been used to posit an otherwise unknown stem *nāvā* Wackernagel however suggests that it is a poetic nonce-formation, substituted for *nāvā* on the analogy of the instr forms in *ō ayā* from *ā* stems The AV *nāvā* is formally more regular, but metrically poor

sa nah sindhum iva nāvayā (AV *nāvā*) RV AV TA For other related formulas see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winternitz*, 7

§290 Coming to the stem *div* (*dyu*), we find a single anomalous genitive *dyaus* for *dyos*, one acc pl *divas* varying with *dyūn*, and a considerable number of acc sg forms *divam dyām* The gen *dyaus* occurs only in MS , for *dyos* of all other texts No v l is quoted This is a much clearer case than any of the other alleged instances of *dyaus* as abl -gen , on which see Wackernagel 3 p 224 infra, with references

sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf VV 2 §732

§291 The accusative variants, both singular and plural, concern the extension of the stem *div* outside of its proper range, see Wackernagel 3 p 220 The one case of acc pl is

ati didyūn (MS *dyūn*, TS KS TB ApŚ *divas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The accent in TS TB is *divás*, not the Rigvedic *dívas*

§292 Otherwise only acc sg *dyām* varying with (secondary) *divam* is found This shift is frequent While *divam* is already common in the RV itself, the only variants concerning RV have *dyām* in that text This form is probably dissyllabic in RV in all the three following cases, read *dyām* in the first, *diyām* in the second and third (and *pṛthvīm* in RV in the third, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 252)

tad astabhnā uto divam (RV *uta dyām*) RV SV ArS

dyām (AV *divam*) *ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV *dharmabhiḥ*) RV AV TA

sa dādhāra pṛthivīm dyām utemām (AV * *pṛthivīm uta dyām*, **pṛthivīm divam ca*, ApŚ *pṛthivīm antarikṣam divam ca*) RV AV (bis) VS VSK TS MS KS KSA PB ŚB ApŚ N According to Roth, Ppp has *dyām utāmūm* for AV 11 5 1

§293 In one AV variant the reading *dyām* seems probably secondary, and intended to patch the meter in a changed form of the mantra where the meter requires a monosyllable

divam (Ppp *dyām*) *antarikṣam ād bhūmim* AV Ppp *divam samudram ād bhūmim* AV The latter is probably original It occurs in a Rohita hymn, and is very appropriate to the context, which deals with the sun's defensive activities The other, with *antarikṣam* for *samudram*, is magical nigmarole, describing the wearer of an amulet, after *divam*, *antarikṣam* follows so naturally! We assume that *divam samudram* was changed first to *divam antarikṣam*, and that then Ppp tried to correct the meter by substituting *dyam* (here, if a monosyllable, contrary to Sievers' Law) for *divam*

§294 The remaining cases concern YV texts, and are chiefly prose, or if metrical, meter seems to play no part in the shift Nor is there much clear indication of priority, KS , apparently the oldest YV text, prefers *dyām* in a number of cases, but not unanimously

divam skabhana KS *dyam stabhana* KS *divam dṛnha* VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB MŚ

divam gacha VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA ApŚ MŚ *dyam gacha* MS KS AB AŚ MŚ

divam (KS ApŚ *dyam*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

divam agrena ma lekhiḥ (MS MŚ *hinsīḥ*) TS MS ApŚ MŚ *dyam mā lekhīḥ* VS KS ŚB KŚ

divam agrenaspṛkṣaḥ VSK † *divam agrenaprāt* (VS *agrenāspṛkṣat*) VS TB *dyam agrenāspṛkṣaḥ* (MS KS * TB °*ṣat*) VS KS (ter) MS TB ŚB

ud divam (KS *dyām*) *stabhāna* VS TS KS ŚB PB ApŚ *divam agrenottabhana* MS MŚ

sūryena dyām (KSA *divam*) TS KSA

ā yā dyām (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā pṛthivīm oru* (KS *uru*) *antarikṣam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

drapsas te dyām mā skan (KS ApŚ *skān*, MS *te divam mā skān*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

ararus te divam mā skān TS ApŚ *ararus te dyām* (KS ApŚ *ararur*

dyām) *mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ *araro divam mā paptaḥ* VS ŚB Vait

§295 The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2 1 pp 109, 113, 146, and 3 p 220) found in the Veda only in compounds On *dive-dive* see §678 Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative *dive* in KS , no other interpretation is at all possible

divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS † °*thām*) MS KS TB ApŚ

CHAPTER IX

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

1 Feminine adjectives

§296 We find a number of variations between *ā* and *ī* stems, feminines to masculines in *a*, see (pending the appearance of Wackernagel II 2) Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch*, 197, Macdonell, *VGr* 273 n 1, and for the usage in Classical Sanskrit, Renou, *Gr Sctc* 279 f The variants reveal no general principles so far as we can see

samhitāsı viśvarūpā MS KS ApŚ *samhitāsı viśvarūpī* (TS ApŚ °*pīh*) VS TS ŚB ŚS ApŚ

upasthāvarābhyo dāśam VS *upasthāvarībhyo baındam* TB (so Poona ed)

śivā rudıasya (VSK *śiva rtasya*, TS and v l of MS *śivā rudıasya*) *bheşajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS

śivā viśvāha bheşajī (TS *vısvāhabheşajī*, VS *viśvāhā bheşajī*, MS *vısvāha bheşajā*) VS TS MS KS

sakhā saptapadī (ApMB °*padā*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB Kauś ApMB MG *sakhe saptapadā bhava* PG

pavitre stho vaiṣnavyau (TB ApŚ °*vī*) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG *oşadhyā* (!) *vaiṣnave sthah* MŚ

annādā (KB °*dī*) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca* AB KB AŚ

vairājī (KSA † °*je*) *puruşī* (so KSA †) TS KSA We see no reason to emend KSA , as v Schroeder would

śamgayī (MS ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadānū*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚS

[*vaiśvadevy āmıkşā* MS KS † Conc *vaiśvadevāmıkşā* for KS]

§297 There are also a couple of cases in which the fem suffix *ī* is alternatively added to *u* stems, varying with the stem in *u* which may be of either gender, cf §225 above

achidrām pārayıṣnum (SMB °*ṣnvīm*) TS SMB

dhıṣane vīdū (VS VSK ŚB *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*) *satī* (KS om) *vīdayethām* (VSK *vīl*°) VS VSK TS KS ŚB

§298 Otherwise we have noted in the Conc only one erroneous quotation of fem forms in *atī* and *antī* from a *vant* stem

[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām* (KSA *viśantām*) RV TS KSA † Conc *ūrjasvantīr* for KSA]

2 Pronominal adjectives

§299 There are only a few cases of variation between pronominal and nominal endings in these adjectives See Wackernagel 3 p 579 ff Perhaps the most interesting is the first quoted, in which, curiously, the late and secondary ApŚ substitutes a pronominal for a nominal form of *viśva*, changing its own Saṃhitā, the pronominal forms of this stem are in general prehistoric, the nominal forms secondary, see Wackernagel 3 p 581

viśvārād asmviśvānām (ApŚ *viśvāsām*) *nāṣṭrānām hantā* TS ApŚ

ye keśinah prathamāh (MŚ °*me*) *satram āsata* TB ApŚ MŚ This and the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ

viśvasṛjah prathamāh (PB MŚ °*me*) *satram āsata* (MŚ °*te*) PB TB ApŚ MŚ

dakṣināyām (AŚ °*nasyām*) *diśi māsāh pitaro māmjayantam* TS AŚ

[*te virājam* (KS *samrājam*) *abhi samyantu sarve* MS † KS Conc *sarvāh* for MS , but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is intended, so p p]

3 Numerals

§300 We have noted only the doubtful KSA reading *aṣṭabhyah* (with short *a* characteristic of the later language) for *aṣṭābhyah*, cf VV 2 §495, Wackernagel 3 p 358

aṣṭābhyah svāhā TS KSA † (Conc *aṣṭa*° for KSA , ed with ms *aṣṭa*° in all three occurrences, first hand once *aṣṭa*ᵓ)

aṣṭābhyah śatebhyah svāhā TS KSA Here the ms of KSA reads *aṣṭa*°, ed em to *aṣṭā*°

CHAPTER X

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1 Enclitic and orthotonic

§301 Almost the only formally equivalent variants in pronominal forms are those in which enclitic and orthotonic forms interchange We find such variants in the forms of the accusative, dative, and genitive forms, singular and plural, of the first and second personal pronouns In all three cases in the plural, and in the dative and genitive singular, the orthotonic forms are in each case at least one syllable longer than the enclitic And even in the accusative singular, when followed by words beginning in a vowel, the orthotonic forms *mām*, *tvām* result in an extra syllable in contrast with the enclitic *mā*, *tvā*, in which the final vowel fuses with a following initial vowel Consequently variations between these forms generally involve metrical considerations Usually other changes in the formula result in metrical correctness for both variant forms At other times one or the other form is metrically imperfect

§302 Accusative singulars The forms *mām mā* and *tvām tvā* are the only ones of this class which do not vary in number of syllables, and even they, as we have just seen, produce readings of different syllabic length when followed by initial vowels In addition to such metrical considerations, certain phonetic moments may be involved Thus, when a consonant follows, they show presence or absence of final nasal (usually anusvāra), and as such might have been included in VV 2 §§300 ff Also some of the variants between *mām* and *mā*, when followed by a vowel, seem to involve haplology or dittology (double or single syllables *mā* or *ma-*), in this connexion some of these variants were listed in VV 2 §812, but that list was incomplete and must be supplemented from the following materials

§303 Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in metrical passages *punar mām aitv* (AV Vait Kauś *maitv*, TA * *mā praitv*) *indriyam* AV ŚB TA (bis) BṛhU ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG Cf also *punar dravinam* (and *brāhmanam*) *aitu mā* (AG MG *mām*) TA AG SMB HG MG The AV Vait Kauś form is metrically deficient and may be haplological

vṛtraghna (MS KS °*ghnah*) *stomā upa mām upāguh* (AV *mema āguh*, KS *mām ihāguh*) AV TS MS KS Here both forms are made metrical

tayā mām indra sam sṛja RVKh *tayā mā sam sṛjāmasi* HG ApMB The RVKh form would be a syllable short (reading *mendra*) but for its use of *mam* before a vowel

tam mā sam sṛja varcasā RV AV etc *sam māgne varcasā sṛja* RV AV KS ApMB *sam mam āyuṣa varcasā* (TS adds *prajaya*) *sṛja* TS MS KS The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion

viśve deva abhi rakṣantu (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV **tveha*, Ppp 5 4 4d *mam iha*) AV Ppp KS †

§304 Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in prose passages, cf VV 2 §812 (haplology or dittology)

tāni mām avantu SMB *te māvatām* AV *te mavantu* AV TS PG *te māvata te mā jinvata* KS ApŚ *te mam avantu* KS ApŚ *tan māvatam* AV

āyur bṛhat tad aśīya tan māvatu (MŚ *mām avatu*) ApŚ MŚ *tan māvatu* (MŚ AG MG *mam avatu*) PB TA TU ApŚ MŚ AG MG *tan mavīt* MG *tan mam āvit* TA TU

ihaiva kṣemya edhi ma prahāsīr (ApŚ °*hasīn*) *mām amum amuṣyayanam* (AŚ *prahāsīr amum mamuṣyayanam*, ApŚ † *mamum āmuṣyāyanam*) MS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Caland assumes for ApŚ the same text as MS

yā devy asīṣṭaka (°*ke*) *sa mām upaseṣva* (MS *mopaseṣva*) MS KS ApŚ (four entries in Conc)

§305 Variations of *mām* and *ma* before a consonant or final Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants

ā roha mām (AV *ā mā roha*) *mahate saubhagaya* RV AV

uddhriyamāna ud dhara pāpmano mā (MŚ *mām*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

upa mām (TB *mā*) *bṛhat saha diva* *hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them

upa mām sakhā bhakṣo (TB *mā bhakṣah sakhā*) *hvayatām* TB AŚ ŚŚ

upa mām (TB *mā*) *rathamtaram saha* *hvayatam* ŚB TB ŚŚ

upa mām (TB *mā*) *vāmadevyam* *hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ

upa mām (TB *mā*) *dhenuh* *hvayatam* TB AŚ ŚŚ

upa mām (TB *mā*) *divyāh* (TB ŚŚ omit) *sapta* *hvayantām* TB AŚ ŚŚ

evam mām brahmacārinaḥ TA TU *evā mā brahmacārinaḥ* Kauś *evam mā śrīdhātāraḥ* SMB *evam mā sakhāyo brahmacārinaḥ* SMB

gopāya mā (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhiṣ te* (with varr) *'ham asmi* SamhitopaniṣadB VāDh VıDh N

tṛptā mā tarpayata (MG *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG

divo nu mām (HG ApMB *mā*) *bṛhato antarikṣāt* AV HG ApMB Prs *divo nu mām* GB Vait Kauś

na mām (N *mā*) *brūyā vīryavatī tathā syām* VıDh VāDh N

punantu mā (RV *mām*) *devajanāḥ* RV AV VS MS KS TB Prs *punantu mā* (BṛhPDh *mām*) Vait Kauś BṛhPDh

punar draviṇam aitu mā (AG MG *mām*) TA AG SMB HG MG The same with *brāhmaṇam* for *draviṇam*

pṛthivi mātar mā mā hiṃsīḥ (VS ŚB *hiṃsīr mo aham tvām*) VS TS ŚB ŚŚ *mā mām mātā pṛthivī hiṃsīt* TS MS

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hiṃsiṣṭam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim* MS KS *mā mā hiṃsīḥ svām* (*svam*) *yonim* VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

samiddho mā (ŚG *mām*) *sam ardhaya* VSK ŚG

[*āyuṣmantaṃ karota mā* (RVKh Aufr *karotu mām*, Scheft *karotu me*, KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh KS TA BDh A dat or gen is unconstruable, only *mā* or *mām* can be read in RVKh , *me* has crept in perhaps from the end of the preceding verse, *dehi me*, or else by confusion with the similar pādas *dīrgham āyuḥ kṛnotu me, sarvam āyur dadhātu me*]

§306 Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in metrical passages

abhi tvām indra nonumaḥ RV SV *abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ* RV AV SV VS etc A significant case, the final *m* of *tvām* is a sort of 'Hiatustilger' (cf VV 2 §309)

jayantam tvānu devā madantu (TS *tvām anu madantu devāḥ*) RV AV SV VS TS The original was read *tuvānu*, TS implies the irregular or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10 247f), and tries to 'correct' the meter

tābhiṣ tvābhiṣṭiṃcāmi MG *tena tvām abhi°* YDh The MG is 'corrected' in YDh as in prec

mahe cana tvām adrivaḥ (SV *tvādrivaḥ*) RV SV ŚŚ Both may be read metrically, but Sievers' Law requires *tv-*

yam tvām ayam (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhitis tejamānaḥ* (*tetijānaḥ, tigmatejāḥ*) RV TS MS KS *ayam hi tvā svadhitis tetijānaḥ* VS ŚB Sievers' Law would make RV hypermetrical

viśvantu (read *viśantu*) *tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ* MU *viśvam tu* (read

viśantu) *tvāhutayah sarvā(h)* PrānāgU The latter is metrically poor

[*tena gṛhnāmi tvām aham* (AV *gṛhnāmi te hastam*) AV VS ApMB *tena tvāham pratigṛhnāmi tvām aham* HG]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages

etat te tata (*tatāsau*) *ye ca tvām anu* (KS *tvānu*) TS KS TB ApŚ ApMB The same with *tatāmaha, pitāmaha, pratatāmaha, prapitāmaha*, for *tata* (only KS reading *tvānu*) *ye ca* (Conc wrongly omits *ca* for ŚŚ) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ *tvām atrānu*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ ŚŚ *ye cātra tvānu* MŚ GG KhG

prajās tvānu (TS ApŚ *tvām anu*) *prānantu* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ The TS form simulates meter, and also makes better assonance with the preceding formula, *prajās tvam anu prānihi* It is of course secondary

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final

ajasram tvām (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB ApŚ

atas tvā viṣnuh pātu MS *viṣnus tvām indriyena pātu* (TS KS *tvām pātu*) VS. TS KS ŚB

avatām tvām (VSK KS ApŚ *tvā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* VS VSK KS ŚB ApŚ

viśvās tvām (KS *tvā*) *prajā upāvarohantu* VS KS ŚB ApŚ

viṣnus tvā (SMB v l *tvām*) *nayatu* SMB PG *viṣnus tvām unnayatu* MG Note that in MG *tvām* is used before a vowel, 'hiatustilger'?

[*tvā* (!) *manasānārtena vācā* KŚ Read *tvām* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in note), or *tvāmanasā°*]

[*tvām* (so Poona ed , Conc *tvā*) *bhūtāny upaparyāvartante* TA]

[*deva savitar etam tvā* (VSK Conc *tvām*, by error) *vṛnate* VSK TB etc]

§309 Variants of dat sg *mahyam, tubhyam* with *me, te* in metrical passages In all cases both forms are metrically sound

anamīvāh pradiśah santu mahyam ApŚ *asapatnāh* (Vait text *sapa°*) *pradiśo me bhavantu* AV Vait

tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam TS *sarvam tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me śivam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

tubhyam (and *ye ta*) *āranyāh paśavo mṛgā vane hitāh* AV (both)

mahyam dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān TB ApŚ *sā me dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān* (KS *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtikāmān*) KS TB ApŚ Both sound

śivam mahyam madhumad astv annam AV *syonam annam madhuman me kṛnomi* MS

§310 Variants of dat sg forms in prose passages

agnir janayan mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś *agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu svāhā* ŚG

§311 Variants of gen sg *mama*, *tava* and *me*, *te*, mostly in metrical passages

añgā parūñṣi tava vardhayanti Vait *priyāny añgāni tava vardhayantīh* TB *dhruvam añgam priyam yat tanūs te* MŚ While MŚ is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pāda and seems not to be connected with the use of *te* for *tava*

tat punīdhvam yavā mama VāDh *punīdhvam ca yavā mama* VāDh *sarvam punatha me yavāh* BDh All metrically sound

tava syāma (TS *syām*) *śarmans* (TS °*man*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhit*) VS TS *śarman* (MS °*mans*) *te syāma trivarūtha udbhau* MS KS TA The pāda is hypermetric in VS, TS, apparently based on VS, corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p 253) Apparently MS KS have the original

śam u te tanve (TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS KSA *sam u astu tanvai tava* VS Both metrically sound

syāma te sumatāv api RV TS *syāma sumatau tava* AV Both may be read metrically

tava-tava rāyah MS KS MŚ *to-to* (TS ApŚ *to te*) *rāyah* VS TS ŚB ApŚ *tava rāyah* MS MŚ Prose

§312 Variants of acc pl *asmān*, *yuṣmān* and *nas*, *vas*, all in metrical passages

abhyanti na (SV *abhyeti na*, AV *asmān aity abhy*) *ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh AV SV VS The AV is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically

arāyo †asmān abhiduchunāyate TB AŚ ApŚ *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate* RV TAA Vait MŚ Both metrically sound

asmān (SV *sā nah*) *sīte payasābhyāvavṛtsva* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

evāsmān (KS *evā mam*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatih* MS KS *tenāsmān indro varuno bṛhaspatih* AV *tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih* TS ŚŚ All metrically sound

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (inss *ādāt*) MŚ *mā sv* (Poona ed *mo sv*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh* TA *mo svatvam asmān tarādhāt* (so, with p p) MS No metrical considerations involved in the variation

tebhir no adya savitota visnuh KŚ *tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah* Kauś *tebhyo na indrah savitota visnuh* ApŚ All sound

yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām AŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB BDh *yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatam* ŚB † 1 6 20d Both sound

sa no aryamā devaḥ PG *so 'smān devo aryamā* MG *sa imām devo aryamā* (ApMB *adhvaraḥ*) AG SMB ApMB Deficient meter in PG

§313. Variants between dat pl *asmabhyam* (*asme*) and *nas*, all in metrical passages

athā naḥ (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā naḥ*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °*tana*) RV AV VS TS MS KS N *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV Hypermetric in TS

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāsma*°) *dravinehā bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS All sound, but MS evidently secondary

śāntā naḥ santv oṣadhīḥ AV *śivā asmabhyam oṣadhīḥ* KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG Both sound

§314 Variants between gen pl *asmākam*, *yuṣmākam* and *nas*, *vas*, in metrical passages, both forms are metrically sound each time

apī jāyeta so 'smākam VtDh *apī naḥ sa kule bhūyāt* MDh

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevaḥ MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham as mi śevā* AV

2 Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315 Besides the variations between orthotonic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns Among the personal pronouns, the old form *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG , HG reading *tubhyam* The PG form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p 459

tubhyam (PG *mama tubhya*) *ca samvananam* PG HG

§316 The Rigvedic locative *tve* occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS reading *tvayi*) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p 462, that there are no new occurrences of *tve* after the RV

āruroha tve sacā (KS *tvayy api*) KS TB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

§317. The Rigvedic dual form *yuvabhyām* persists also in TS N in the following variant, only KS using the later *yuvābhyām* (if the edition is right, but the best mss of KS has *yuva*°!) Wackernagel 3 p 464 says that *yuvā*° is used exclusively outside of the RV except for one AŚ passage (Whitney 492b) Evidently this statement is true only if we understand it to apply to new passages, not repeated from RV

athā (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS ed *yuvā*°, v l *yuva*°) RV TS KS N

§318 An anomalous form written *yuṣmān* before a vowel (i e *yuṣmāṁ?* or *yuṣmāṇ?*) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following

It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established
yuṣme (GB † *yuṣmāñ*, Gaastra with all mss , all mss of AV also *yuṣmān*, Whitney, Index) *astu dive dive* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ No acc can be construed, like *yuṣme*, the form can only be gen , dat , or loc , and of these it seems that gen is the best choice

§318a The old dative or locative *asme* varies once with *nah* (and later *asmabhyam*)
athā nah (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °*tana*) RV AV VS TS MS KS N *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV

§319 The only other variants concern demonstrative stems (For fem *yuṣmās* see §803) Once the gen -loc dual of *ena* varies between *enos* and *enayos*, as noted by Wackernagel 3 p 521
na parā jigye kataraś canainoh (AV *canainayoh*) RV AV TS MS KS AB

§320 Once TA uses a wholly anomalous form *amī*, for AV *amū*, as nom dual fem of *asau* No other form than *amū* for this case, in any gender, has been noted elsewhere, and this form of TA is ignored in the grammars It is particularly strange to find it used as a fem (the noun is *tārake*), if it were masc we might assume a use of the plural for dual The comm interprets by *amū* but offers no remarks, and we can think of no explanation, unless the influence of *devī* nouns
amī ye subhage divi TA *amū ye divi subhage* AV

CHAPTER XI

VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

§321 The vocative and nominative case forms are, in the dual and plural numbers (and sometimes also in the singular), formally distinguishable only by accent and consequently only in accented texts. We have tried to include cases where this accentual distinction is preserved, along with other cases in which a difference of stem or ending appears. It would have been clearly improper to include here instances from texts in which no accents are written, if the forms are identical, merely because our interpretation (however obvious and certain it may appear) makes a particular form vocative in one text and nominative in another. Since, however, the Concordance does not record accents, so that these variations can only be got from the original texts, it is likely that our collectanea are not complete in this regard.

Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example *mātevāsmā adite* (ŚG *aditiḥ*) *sarma yaccha* (ŚG *yaṃsat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB, 'like a mother grant, O Aditi, (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him.' This sort of change requires no comment, unless perhaps this, that the direct-address form of the variant need not necessarily contain a second-person verb, tho it most commonly does. For instance *svasā* (ŚG *sakhā*, ApMB *priyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB *devānam*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB ApMB PG ŚG HG *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative, but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated

by our lists below The conditions are different when one approaches the subject from the point of view of the variation in case Notably a nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity It may easily be an appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in *ā tiṣṭha mitra-vardhanaḥ* (AV °*na*) AV KS TB † ApŚ †, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' Here and in many similar cases both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d personal verb, yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and is frequently the original form In such cases it often appears that the change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining word Thus *somam piba vṛtrahā śūra* (TS TA MahānU °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU , 'drink the soma, O hero, being the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or ' O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise' Of course the Taittirīya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the following vocative *śūra* helped the change to *vṛtrahan*, yet their sense is quite as good as that of the original But as much can hardly be said for the TS reading of the following, which shows the reverse change (nom instead of voc), also under the influence of surrounding forms, but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom in apposition to the subject of the verb *sajoṣā indra* (TS *indrah*) *sagano marudbhiḥ* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ , 'O Indra, in association with the band of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra' This pāda immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS has substituted a nom for the voc *indra*, while putting the voc *vṛtrahan* in place of the nom

§324 The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom *indrah* of TS is not really construable in an intelligent way Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335–6 In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc with 3d person or nom with 2d) Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e g *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV *prati*°), followed by *narāśaṅso agniḥ* (VS TS KS *agne*), AV VS TS MS KS Here AV MS (probably original) have 3d person verb with nom subject, VS TS have 2d person verb with voc subject, only KS

is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc subject It might be suggested that KS contains a blend of the other two forms But more probably KS represents the first change from the original reading (of AV MS), and VS TS have a further changed based on KS and designed to correct its poor syntax

§325 It should be noted that not a few vocative-nominative forms differ only in the lack or presence of a final visarga—a very slight phonetic difference They are collected and related to similar phonetic shifts in VV 2 §380

§326 We shall list first the variants in which a nom with 3d person verb varies with a voc with 2d person This is the simplest type, and requires no comment, the shift in either direction is extremely natural and common

mātevāsmā adite (ŚG *aditiḥ*) *śarma yaccha* (ŚG *yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA. ŚG ApMB

indro vājam ajayīt TS TB *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

bhavatu bhikṣām dehi Kauś *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* ĀG

indraḥ (SV PB *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ Followed, in RV SV, by *kratum punīta* (SV *punīṣa*) *ukthyam*

agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt ApŚ *agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt* MŚ *agniṣ ṭān* (VS *ṭāṃ*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ °*tv*, SMB *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB

aditiḥ kešān (AV MG * *śmaśru*) *vapatu* AV AG MG (both) ApMB *adite kešān* (and, *kešaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG (both)

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāgU AG ŚG MG ApMB *annasyānnapatiḥ prādāt* PB

āyātu varadā devī, akṣaram brahma sammitam, gāyatrī chandasām mātā, idam brahma juṣasva naḥ TA TAA MahānU *āyāhi vīraje devy, akṣare brahmasammite, gāyatri chandasām mātar, idam brahma juṣasva me* MG All the noms in TA etc go with *āyātu*, which in MG is changed to 2d person

agnir hotā vetu AŚ ŚŚ *agne vīhi* AB ŚB AŚ MŚ

jayanta upasprśatu HG *jayantopa sprśa* ApMB

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB ApŚ *avasānam me vasānapatir vindat* MŚ

sāvitrīm bho anu brūhi AG ŚG ApG HG *sāvitrīm me bhavān anu bravītu* GG

sam devi (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS † °*vasyākhyata*) TS KS ApŚ

uṣneva vāya udakenehi (SMB GG *udakenaidhi*, ApMB *vāyav udake-*

nehi, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG The form *it* of MG is a dubious imperfect, perhaps rather the particle *id*, cf Kanuer p 165 s v *id*, and VV 1 p 87 In any case MG has an indirect reference instead of direct address

pṛthivi mātar mā mā hiṃsīḥ VS TS ŚB ŚŚ *mā mām mātā pṛthivī hiṃsīt* TS MS

agnināgniḥ saṃvadatām TA *agne agninā saṃvadasva* TA ApŚ HG

pra candramās tirate (TS † *tirati*, AV † *candramas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuḥ* RV AV TS MS N See VV 1 p 221

purukṣu tvaṣṭā (MS *tvaṣṭaḥ*) *suvīryam* (VSK TS *suvīram*) VS VSK TS MS *purukṣu deva* †*tvaṣṭar* [text *tvaṣṭā*, accentless, followed by *r-*] AV *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣāya viṣya nābhim asme* KS Verb *viṣyatu* or *viṣya*

indra (MS *indrah*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS °*daśenavyaḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ Verb *rakṣatu* in MS , *rakṣa* in the others See VV 1 p 223

araro divam mā paptaḥ VS ŚB Vait *ararur* (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ *ararus te divam mā skān* TS ApŚ

yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām MŚ *yajñaḥ pratyaṣṭhāt* (v l *praty u ṣthāt*) KS *yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB ApŚ

viśvāś ca deva (PG *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ* (PG † °*ṣyak*) KS PG *viśvā* †*deva pṛtanā abhiṣya* TB ApŚ HG See VV 1 p 242, and on *abhiṣyak* (for °*ṣyat*), VV 2 §142, where this form might well have been mentioned

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgamem VS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS *draviṇehāgamyāḥ*, ApŚ *draviṇehāgameḥ*) TS KS ApŚ *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇehāgamyāt* MS *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya saṃṣṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* KS See VV 1 pp 61 f , 232

divo jyote (KS * *jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) *ādityā te no devā(ḥ) āsuvadhvam* MS KS (bis) *vivasvān ādityā devajūtās te na ādityā viyantu* TS See VV 1 p 239

uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB *ūṣā*, read *uṣāḥ*, *dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB

vaptā (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG *vapati*) *keśasmaśru* (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG In PG change to 3d person verb to agree with *vaptā* (originally not subject but appositional nom), in HG MG change to voc to mend the same syntax, felt as incongruous See VV 1 p 241 f and below §334

yo (TS TB ApŚ *yad*) *agniḥ* (TS TB ApŚ *agne*) *kavyavāhanaḥ* (RV

kravya°, TS TB ApŚ *°vāhana*) RV VS KS TS TB ApŚ AŚ Followed in RV VS KS TS by *pitṝn yakṣad* (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah*, by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB , only pratīka in AŚ ApŚ

śrutakakṣo aram (SV *°kakṣāram*) *gave* RV SV Preceded by *aram aśvāya gāyata* (SV *°ta*) Note plural verb in SV , cf VV 1 §372*c*

[*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no vatu* TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *indra 'vata*]

§327 In the following group the nom and voc forms are distinguished only by the accents (see above, §321)

śivena mā (ApMB *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā pasyatāpah* (ApMB *pasyantv āpah*) AV TS MS AB ApMB *āpah* is nom in ApMB , voc in the rest

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorn(u)vāthām (MS MŚ *°tām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

aśvinā pibatam (VS KŚ *°tām*) *madhu* (TB ApŚ *sutam*) RV VS TB MŚ KŚ

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB *śrayadhvam*) KS ṬB

tasmai te dyāvāpṛthivī revatībhih AV *asmabhyam dyāvā° sakvarībhih* TB Cf VV 1 p 224, under *kāmam duhātām* etc

aśvināv eha gachatam RV AB AŚ ŚŚ *asvnav eha gachatām* (TS TB *°tam*, in same stanza in which RV N have *°tām*) RV TS TB N

svāttam cit āpo devīh svadatainam TS ApŚ *svāttam sad āpo devīh svadantu* MS *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad°*) VS VSK ŚB

(*abaddham mano*) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS KŚ BDh *dīkṣen* (sc *dīkṣā-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ *dīkṣe mā mā hinsīh* ŚG See VV 1 p 225 In KŚ read probably *dīkṣen*

apātām aśvinā gharmam VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ *gharmam apātam aśvinā* (accented in MS which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt!) MS TA *aśvinā gharmam pātam* (MS *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ Consistent in all but the first MS form

visve devāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS *visve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tiṣthantu*) *tvcha* (AV * KS † *mcha*, AV **pakvam*, SMB ApMB HG *pascāt*) AV (thrice) KS SMB ApMB HG

vājinau vājajitau avajighratam (KS *°tām*) MS KS MŚ *vājino vājajito vājam avajighrata* VS TS ŚB ApŚ Similarly

vājino vājajito vājam bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāh (KS *bhāge ni mṛjatām*, TS *bhāge ni mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB *vājinau vājajitau bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS MŚ In this and the prec KS has noms , the rest vocs

aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah (MS *°tam*, TB † *°ta*) VS MS TB See VV 1 p 71

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG ApMB *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG See VV 1 p 229 The MG form can of course only be nom , the other is ambiguous except for the accent

ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāh MS *ā mā gantām* (VSK *gantam*) *pitarā mātarā ca* (VSK *yuvam*) VS VSK † 10 3 12c TS KS ŚB Add to VV 1 §337

§328 In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent tendency of SV to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person forms, where RV has third person references The following (all listed l c) show correspondingly voces in SV for noms of RV

pavamāna vy aśnuhi SV *pavamāno vy aśnavat* RV

ayā somah (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV

svādyadhah sotṛbhih pūyate vṛṣā (SV °*bhih soma sūyase*) RV SV

Phrase inflection

§329 In another group the mantras are found in different contexts Thus we have the variant *hotrābhir agnir* (*agne*) *manuṣah svadhvarah* The vocative form occurs in RV AV, preceded by *sadāsi ranvo yavaseva puṣyate* 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man ' The nominative form occurs in RV in a quite different context as an independent sentence (with copula unexpressed) 'Agni has fair sacrifices thru the offerings of man ' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2)

hiranyavarnā subhagā AV *hiranyavarne subhage* AV Quite different contexts

evāyam daśamāsyo [*asrag jarāyunā saha*] VS ŚB *evā tvam daśamāsya* [*sahāvechi jarāyunā* RV , *sākam jarāyuna pata* AV] RV AV In Ppp (see Whitney on AV 1 11 6) *evā te garbha cyatu nir aitu daśamāsyo bahir jarāyunā saha*

bhāratīde sarasvati [*yā vah sarvā upabruve tā nah codayata śriye*] RV *sarasvatīdā mahī* [*imam no yajñam ā gaman*, etc] RV

indra (RV **indro*) *viśvābhir ūtibhih* RV (both) AV SV

viśvāni deva (RV **devo*) *vayunāni vidvān* RV (both) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA In one RV passage and all others except AV preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān*, in the other RV passage, by *ṛbhuś cakra īdyam cāru nāma*, AV has different surroundings but requires a voc

upedam upaparcanam [*āsu goṣūpaparcyatām*] RV TB LŚ *upehopaparcana* [*asmin goṣṭha upa pṛñca nah*] AV See VV 1 §85

antarikṣena saha vāyinīvan (once, °*vān*) AV (ter) Verbs are consistent
sahamāne (PG HG ApMB * °*nā*, RV AV *devajūte*) *sahasvati* (HG ApMB * °*tī*, PG *sarasvatī*) RV AV PG ApMB (bis) HG See also §346, *devajūte*
imam yajñam asvnobhā bṛhaspatiḥ RV TS *imam yajñam bṛhaspate śvnobhā* KS Followed respectively by *devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt*, and *indrāvata kāviyair dansanābhiḥ* Yet the contexts are fundamentally the same (cf below under *devaḥ savitā*°, §399)
ā pavasva madintama RV SV *sa pavasva madintama* RV SV *sa punāno madintamaḥ* RV
samiddho agna āhuta RV AV TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ (followed by 2d person verbs) *samiddho agnir āhutaḥ* [*svāhākṛtaḥ pipartu naḥ*] KS ApŚ MŚ The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV) with an unmetrical yajus text *iṣṭo agnir āhutaḥ pipartu* (KS TB *svāhākṛtaḥ pipartu*) *na iṣṭam haviḥ* (TB ŚB omit last two words) VS MS KS ŚB TB
sa tvam no nabhasas pate (GB *patiḥ*) TS GB *tvam no nabhasas pate* AV TS *ayam no nabhasas patiḥ* AV GB Vait Kauś
ghṛtapratiko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne (KS ApŚ *agniḥ*) AV MS KS ApŚ ApMB HG *ghṛtāhavano ghṛtapṛṣṭho agniḥ* AŚ *ghṛtam vasāno ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne* KS
hiranyaparna sakune PG *hiranyapakṣaḥ sakuniḥ* HG *hiranyavarnaḥ śakunaḥ* MU
agnis tigmena śocisā RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *agne ti*° *so*° RV AV
pavamānaḥ (RV * °*na*) *kanikradat* RV (both) SV
indram soma (and, *somo*) *mādayan daivyam janam* RV (both) Followed or preceded respectively by *sindhor ivormiḥ pavamāno arṣasi*, and *ā vidyutā pavate dhārayā sutaḥ*
devebhyo haviyavāhana RV *devebhyo* (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *haviyavāhanaḥ* RV ApŚ *devebhyo haviyavād asi* ApŚ See *RVRcp* on 3 9 6b The second ApŚ variant occurs in a context different from any of RV and belongs to §339
deva devebhyo haviḥ (SV *devebhyaḥ sutaḥ*) RV SV *devo devebhyaḥ sutaḥ* RV SV
sahasrote satāmagha RV *sahasrotiḥ satāmaghaḥ* RV
sahasraposam (AV Kauś *sahasrā*°) *subhage* (TS * *subhagā*) *rarāṇā* RV AV TS (both) MS KS Kauś SMB ApMB
mitra satyānām pate (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ *mitraḥ satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Each in a series, with

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest So next

savitā prasavānām (AV adds *adhipatih*) AV TS PG *savitah prasavānām adhipate* ŚŚ As prec

§330 The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf §322)

svasā (ŚG *sakhā*, ApMB *priyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB ApMB PG HG ŚG *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG

upa brahmāni savanāni vṛtrahā (SV °*han*), *paramajyā ṛcīṣamah* (SV °*ma*) RV AV SV Preceded in RV by *ā no viśvāsu havya indrah samatsu bhūṣatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us the slayer of Vṛtra' etc SV misunderstands *bhūṣatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor' To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshipers, the resulting first half verse is *ā no viśvāsu havyam indram samatsu bhūṣata*, cf VV 1 p 199 But since *vṛtrahā* cannot (like *havya indrah*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc , with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb, and *ṛcīṣamah* then follows it

agnir yaṣṭedam namah KS *agne yaṣṭar idam namah* TS TB 'Agni is the sacrificer, this homage (to him)' 'O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee) '

§331 Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant

tasyās te devy adita (Kauś *aditir*) *upasthe* MS KS Kauś *upasthe te devy adite 'gnim* TS Followed in Kauś by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadhe* (1st person), see VV 1 p 211 In all except Kauś there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used In Kauś Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb, but note that Kauś retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation

§332 Similar variants used in different contexts ('phrase-inflection') are

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV · *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc of the deity addressed, the preceding pāda is *namas te rudra kṛnmas*

aśveva citrāruṣī [*mātā gavām ṛtāvarī, sakhābhūd aśvinor uṣāḥ*] RV SV [*vayam hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,*] *aśve na citre aruṣi* RV The latter is secondary, see *RVRep* 63

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG *bhūyāsma te sumatau viśvavedah* MS † In the latter a direct address See VV 1 p 218

indra somasya pītaye RV *indrah somasya pītaye* RV *indrah somasya pītaye vṛṣāyate* RV A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc.

yajiṣṭham havyavāhana RV *yajiṣṭho havyavāhanah* RV Again a pronoun accompanies the voc

§333 We come now to variations between direct address and indirect reference in which either the voc or the nom seems incongruous in one form of the variant, as in *narāsanso agnih* (*agne*), §324 Other cases of this sort are

agne (TS KS *agnir*) *manyum pratinudan pareṣām* (TS KS *parastāt*) RV AV TS KS In the next pāda RV AV TS have *pāhi*, KS *pātu* All are consistent except TS, which has nom with 2d person verb, cf VV 1 p 231

sa no mayobhūh pito (*pitav*) *āvisasva* (*āviśeha*, MŚ *pitur āviveśa*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG *sa nah pito madhumān ā viśeha* (Kauś *viveśa*) KS Kauś Only Kauś is inconsistent, MŚ (secondarily) restores consistency with nom matching 3d person verb

apālām indra (MG *indras*) *tris* (*trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB † *pūrtvy a-*, MG *pūrty a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG The verb in the following pāda is 2d person in RV AV JB, but 3d in MG and ApMB, despite voc epithet in pāda b, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xvi, VV 1 p 233 f

vider agnir (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ *agne*) *nabho nama* (MS MŚ add *yat te*) VSK TS MS ŚBK MŚ *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS KS ŚB See VV 1 p 233 TS is inconsistent

vy astabhnā (VS ŚB *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS *aṣṭa°*, TS *askabhnād*, TA *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī viṣnav* (VSK MS KS *viṣṇu*, TS *viṣnur*) *ete* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA - TB is secondary but consistent, TA inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two See VV 1 p 232, where read VSK *viṣṇa* (instead of VS)

dyāvāpṛthivī uru antarikṣam AV TS *dyāvāpṛthivī uro* (VSK † *uru*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS ŚB Context of AV different from all the others, there a simple third-person prayer In the rest either (as in MS) directly addressed to the deities, altho there also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

as the direct agents (the following pāda is *bṛhaspatir no havyā vṛdhātu* TS MS), or, as in VS VSK ŚB, the following pāda (*bṛhaspataye havyā vidhema*) contains a first personal statement In TS the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *bṛhaspatir*, subject of *vṛdhātu* in the next pāda Keith understands them as exclamations

§334 We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative Either may be the original form, since a nom in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc, in the example given in §323, *ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (°*nah*), it is hard to say which reading was the older We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary

pavamānah (SV °*na*) *samtanim eṣi kṛtvan* RV SV A slight tendency for SV to prefer the voc referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following, cf VV 1 §328

aprośivān gṛhapatir (SV °*pate*) *mahan asi* RV SV

śuddho mamaddhi somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS *sarūpa vṛṣann agahi* SV JB

samrad asi kṛṣūnuh (ŚŚ °*no*) VS VSK TS MS KS PB ŚS ApŚ

sūyavasād bhagavati (KŚ °*ti*) *hi bhūyah* RV AV AB KB AŚ KŚ ApŚ N Addressed to the cow, KŚ makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc

vapta (ApMB *vaptra*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG °*ti*) *kesasmaśru* (AG PG MG *kesan*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG The change of the nom original of AV to a voc in HG MG belongs here, see §326

āyuṣman (MG °*mann*) *idam pari dhatsva vasah* ApMB HG MG, cf also *āyuṣmatidam* etc, AV Lect fac in MG

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v l *cayyo*, HG *cayyo*) *vi bhajasi* (SMB *bhṛjasi*), HG *bhajā sa*) *jivan* AV SMB HG ApMB Nom masc in all but SMB (*ca aryo* in ApMB, for HG see VV 2 §244) In SMB adapted to a different context which requires a fem, (*ca*)*ārye*, voc fem Note however that SMB baldly retains the masc form *jivan* from the original! (*jivantī* would be unmetrical)

sakhā (PG *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB PG °*pada*) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB PG ApMB MG The (predicate) nom is clearly original

purovita (KS °*to*, TS °*to varṣan*) *jinva* TS MS KS This and the

adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos, but some of them have nom forms even in MS

brahmacāry asi (SMB GG *asy asau*) ŚB AG ŚG SMB GG KhG PG ApMB *agneś cāsi brahmacārin mama ca* Kauś Perhaps hardly to be called variants

[*dhruvaidhi poṣyā* (PG *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV Stenzler and Oldenberg take *poṣye* as voc fem, addressed to the bride If this be correct, the variation belongs here We have preferred to understand *poṣye* as loc sg masc, going with *mayi*, see §454]

§335 In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word, see §323 These deserve special listing, the following are those in which the nom seems to be the older form and the voc secondary

somam piba vṛtrahā sūra (TS TA MahānU °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU §323

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicankana*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Preceded in all by *avabhṛtha nicumpuna* (etc, voc in all) Doubtless the nom is original and the voc assimilated to that of the preceding pāda

samjagmāno divah kavih (SV LŚ *divā kave*) RV SV LŚ Preceded by *ṛdhak soma svastaye* It is likely that the voc *soma* had something to do with the change to voc *kave* The next pāda begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped

agner agne puro agnir (KS † KapS [Oertel 73] *agne*, TS † TB † *puró-agnir*, cpd) *bhaveha* VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB TB The orig seems to be TS TB ('harbinger of Agni', Keith), the second voc of KS KapS is apparently assimilated to the first *agne*

§336 In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section, note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift

sajoṣā indra (TS *indrah*) *sagano marudbhih* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ §323

utso deva (SV twice *devo*) *hiranyayah* RV SV The surrounding noms have been responsible for *devo*

ṛjīṣī savasas pate (SV *patih*) RV SV Preceded by *tvam indra yaśā asi*

pavasva devāyuṣak (SV *deva āyuṣak*) RV SV PB Benfey translates *deva* as voc, it is accented *deva* If this is correct and it is a nom, it might be explained by assimilation to *ayuṣak* if that is a nom, but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9 25 5 considers it a neuter adverb

dyāvāpṛthivī uro (VSK † *uru*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS ŚB *dyāvāpṛthivī uru antarikṣam* AV TS The TS reading belongs here, see §333

agne sadakṣah satanur (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS *agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ The verb is 2d person in all, the nom of MŚ is attracted to the following noms

vasupate vasudāvan RV VS ŚB *vasudāvā vasupatih* TS MS KS Preceded in all by *sa bodhi sūrir maghavā*, TS etc assimilate to these noms

kāmena kṛtah (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānah* RV MS TB *kṛtah* partly suggested by *ichamānah*

prajāpatis (ApMB °*te*) *tanvam me juṣasva, tvaṣṭā devaih sahamāna indrah* (ApMB *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra*, cf Winternitz, xx) ApMB MG Followed in MG by *visvair devair ṛtubhih samvidānah, punsām bahūnām mātarau syāva*, in ApMB by *visvair devai ratibhih samrarānah, punsām bahūnām mātara syāma* Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the voes in ApMB are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms in MG under the influence of the participle in pāda c, which is nom in both

sahasrākṣa medha ā (VSK *medhāya*) *cīyamānah* VSK TS KS *sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānah* VS MS ŚB Preceded in all by *imam mā hinsīr dvipādam paśum* (TS KS *paśūnām*) Voc is likely to be original, attraction to *cīyamānah* in VS etc

śaravye brahmasamsite (TS °*tā*) RV AV SV VS TS *śaro brahmasamsitah* TB ApŚ Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB ApŚ °*ṭah*) *parā pata* Voc was original, in TS the adjective, and in TB ApŚ both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom by the nom adjective preceding

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devi* (ApŚ MŚ *devī*) *prathamānā purastāt* (KS ApŚ MŚ *pṛthag yat*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Direct address and 2d person verb in all, voc original, nom attracted to *prathamānā*

subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB *suvīrinah sṛja-sṛja* HG Preceding pāda ends with *suvīrinah*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition)

sakhe (AV *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimne* RV AV In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro*

vrīhīnām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *tasmin sīda* Attraction to the following nom in MŚ

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV KS MS In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra'

punar āgāh punarnava (AV *punarn°*, AV * *°vah*) RV AV (both)

namas te astu śīsara (PG *śīsaro lapetāpahvara*) PG † 1 16 24, ApMB HG The nom of PG is hardly interpretable, indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that *śīsaro* is meant for voc (of an otherwise unknown *śīsaru*) It must refer to the same individual as *te* (a kind of dog demon)

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS *°tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ In AVPpp (Whitney on 6 5 1) *ghṛtebhir āhutah* Ppp and KS are awkward and secondary, the nom must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud enam* (ApŚ *asmān*) *uttaram* (VS TS KS *°rām*, ApŚ *°rān*) *naya*]

rātri (TB *°rī*, KS v 1 *°rih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB *°ṣī*) RV KS TB In all preceded by *upa te gā ivākaram, vṛnīṣva duhitar divah* The nom must be taken in apposition with the subject of *vṛnīṣva*

ṛtena (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhi roha vaniṣa* (MG *vaniṣah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG The appositional nom of MG is awkward

indra krutvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vasāma* RV MS KS Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (*maruto*, voc) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS feel that the voc *indra* must be got rid of The nom is however clearly inferior, perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire ' (?) On the original cf Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 1 165 7 In VV 2 §380 we have called the nom 'hardly construable'

agne (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV SV MS TA

Vocative and nom of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf §§32, 38) The first step in this direction is illustrated by this

tiṣṭhā ratham (TS *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB *°tah*) RV VS ŚB TB Here TB, introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder!' The awkward reading of VS ŚB is intermediate and paved the way

§339 Note also the ApŚ variant *devebhyo havyavād asi*, under *devebhyo havyavāhana* etc §329, and the following, which show the final result of this tendency

kāmyāsi PB MŚ GG *kāmye* MS

agne prāyaścitte SMB PG ApMB HG *agne prāyaścittir asi* ŚG Similarly with *vāyo* and *sūrya (ādityа)*

agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŞB Parallels rather than real variants?

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me VS *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me* PB *adhvanv adhipatir asi svasti no* ŚŚ

Transfer of epithet

§340 There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet' That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case Cf §14 above

tava śravāṃsy upamāny ukthyā (SV °*ya*) RV SV In RV the adj goes with *śravāṃsi*, in SV with Indra

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB TA *vātāper*, KS ŚŚ *vātāpe*) *havanaśrutah* MS KS (9 8) KB TA ŚŚ In MS *vāt*° agrees with *somāh*, in the others with Indra, either with the voc *indra* or with the pronoun *te* and the adj *havanaśrutah*

satyasya dharmanas patī (ApŚ *pate*, Vait MŚ *satyasya dharmanā*, AŚ *pari satyasya dharmanā*, PG *pari sakhyasya dharmanah*) ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ AŚ PG In ŚŚ (probably orginal) *patī* (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding pādas In ApŚ it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed

devā ājyapā juṣāṇā agna (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS In the original (MS KS) addressed to Agni (voc), but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu* The redactor of VS felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing Agni in at all, the rest of the verse suggests that Indra is above all the god who is to 'taste the butter', hence *indra(h)*, as one of the *devā(h)* who are the subject of the verb

vivasvann (VSK °*vān*, TS KS °*va*) *ādityaṛṣa te somapīthah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (*ādityа*) in all but VSK , which seems to apply it, incredibly, to *somapīthah*

anu dyāvāpṛthivī supranītiḥ (ŚŚ °*te*) AŚ ŚŚ The original pāda d of AV 7 73 6 (see Whitney's note), Ppp (Roth) agrees with AŚ, with nom agreeing with *samtā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b

svar devā (TS TB ApŚ *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *devā* is accentless both times in VS, the comm in one of them takes it as nom (*vayam yajamānā devā bhūtvā*) In KS 14 1 it is voc, in KS 18 12 nom (but two mss make it voc), in MS nom, the Tait texts make it accus attracting it to the case of *svar* and making it a second object If nom it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm on VS says)

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV † *devaḥ*) RV AV VS TB ApMB In AV the epithet (originally voc) is transferred to *bhaga(ḥ)* Ppp agrees with RV

vivṛttacakrā āśīnāḥ HG ApMB *avmuktacakra* (v l °*rā*) *āśīran* PG See §454

yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB PG ApMB HG °*yam*) KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yat te susīmam hṛdayam* KBU 2 8 (not in Conc) *susīme* is voc fem, *hṛdaye* loc See §457 If *susīmam* be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to *hṛdayam* 'the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair' (! despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text, the 'heart' is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it) Deussen would read *susīme*, however

agne vaiśvānara (MS * °*raḥ*) *svāhā* TS MS (bis) TB The subject is *jyotis* (neuter!), and if the nom can stand it must be felt as going with it But, altho no v l is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final visarga added, VV 2 §380)

punar brahmāṇo (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, MS °*dhīte*, KS * °*dhītam*, v l °*tim*, KS * 38 12b† °*nītha*, KapS °*dhītam* or °*tim*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB The voc agrees with *agne* (understood in KS), the nom with *brahmā*, the acc with *tvā* (sc Agni) of the preceding

Miscellaneous

§341 One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants

svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno VS TS ŚB *svān*

nabhrād añghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno KS · *suvāñ nabhrād añghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS *svāna bhrāṭ, añghārir bambhārih, hastah suhastah, kṛśānur viśvāvasuh* TA † In TA part of the *gandharvagaṇāh*, obviously based on the other list (addressed to the gandharvas at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion

agnir āyyasya vetu vaujhak ŚB *agna āyyasya vyantu vaujhak* ŚB Also *agninājyya°*, *agnim ājya°* Rigmarole formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem *agni*, as required in a set of offerings

§342 We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV *svapna svapnādhikaranena* Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 35 52) Probably *svapna* is a sandhi form for *svapnah*, VV 2 §980

sumṛdīkā sarasvati (MG °*tī*) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG Read °*ti* in all, so v l of MG, and its comm *he sarasvati* In TA 1 21 3 the Bibl Ind ed reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed °*ti*

sumanih suhiraṇyavān (ŚŚ °*vah*) AV ŚŚ But °*vān* is Roth's emendation and must be rejected

ud īrṣvātah patīvatī (ApMB °*vati*) *hy eṣā* RV ApMB See Winternitz, xix, some ApMB mss °*vatī*, comm °*vati* interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom l A voc seems impossible

iyam oṣadhe (PG °*dhī*) *trāyamāṇā* PG ApMB HG Here too (cf prec) the voc is absurd, yet is clearly intended in ApMB HG, see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg *SBE* 30 166 note

[*śṛtam havih śamitāʒh* (TS ApŚ *havīʒh śamitah*) TS MS ŠB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Conc *śamitā* for MS MŚ, but both follow this word with *iti*, intending *śamitāʒh*]

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ See Knauer's note The nom is unconstruable as such

tām nah pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva HG *tām pūṣañ* (AV °*an*) etc RV AV ApMB *sā nah pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG The verb being still 2d person in PG, this might be classed with §337, but PG is really hopeless

stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patni TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate, the divergence of gender signalizes the badness of the reading

(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte*) *viṣṇukrānte vasumdhare* (TA °*rā*), *śirasā dhāritā devi* (TA *dhārayiṣyāmi*), *rakṣasva mām pade-pade* TA MahānU The nom is impossible as member of a series, which are epithets of the personage addressed (*tvām* must be supplied) With MahānU 's *dhāritā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction In fact the comm on TA seems to have read *dhāritā devī*, and for *vasumdharā* (which he does not quote, did he read °*dhare*?) he has *he bhūme sarvāni vastūni dhārayantī sati* Evidently the text of TA is very uncertain

indra (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is not construable

na vā ojīyo rudra tvad asti RV TA *ojīyo rudras tad asti* MS s p , but p p reads like RV but for *tad* instead of *tvad* The MS is corrupt and uninterpretable Add to VV 2 §365 (*tvad tad*)

praty etā vāmā (AŚ *sunvan*) *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ °*vakta*, v l °*vaktar*) *uta* KB AŚ ŚŚ Discussed VV 2 p 180 All texts seem to have read °*vaktar*, but a voc seems unconstruable, and a nom must have been intended, whatever the form was

yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha (TB °*bhūva*, Poona ed °*tha*) TB ApŚ *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhrato*, v l *bibhṛto*, *bibhyato*) *jātavedāh* AV KS The nom is very awkward, Whitney translates a voc

śarīram me vicarṣaṇam (RVKh *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh TA TU *pratīkam me vicakṣaṇam* PG Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣana* in RVKh , but this seems unconstruable

śaviṣṭha (AA °*thah*, but Keith °*tha* with v l °*thah*) *vajrinn ojasā* (AA Mahānāmnyah *rājase*) RV SV AA Mahānāmnyah A mere corruption of tradition

arvāgvaso svasti te pāram aśīya MS KS ApŚ *arvāgvasur* [*iti trir uktvā*] MŚ (pratīka) It seems clear that MŚ 's pratīka refers to the mantra of MS There is no v l recorded, but no nom can be really intended

CHAPTER XII

VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Direct address and indirect statement

§343 The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether, yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra material to different situations But not always so, in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326) Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative

indram (SV *indra*) *dhenum sudughām anyām isam* RV SV The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV *tvadya*) *sabardughām huve gayatravepasam* SV, by reading *tva*(*dya*) for *tv adya*, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'

ṛcā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatim (SV °*pate*), *devan* (SV *deva*) *avo varenyam* RV SV MS KS 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' ' I approach [you], O Maruts etc '

§344 In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive, the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself These are similar to many variations of the acc with the nom , §372 ff

ihaiva dhruvā (ŚG *sthūre*) *prati tiṣṭha sāle* (ŚG *dhruva*) AV ŚG HG *ihaiva dhruvām ni minomi śālām* AV PG HG 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)", or 'Right here I fix firm the house '

tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB *tasmai stanam pra pyāyasva* HG. 'Swell for him, O breast!', or 'Swell thy breast for him' See VV 1 §32

unnambhaya pṛthivīm TS KS MS ApŚ *pra nabhasva pṛthivi* AV 'Split open the earth' (addressed to Dhātar) 'burst open, O earth!' Ppp agrees with TS etc, and AV addresses Dhātar in pāda c, AV probably secondary

§345 In the stray variant which follows the acc is original ('the sacrifice has gone to the gods'), AŚ (the reading of which is repeated by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods

devāñ (MS *devān*, AŚ *devā*) *janam agan yajñiah* MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ †

Phrase inflection

§346 The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant

satyadharmānam adhvare RV SV (preceded by *kavim agnim upa stuhi*) *satyadharmāno adhvaram* (TS °*re*) RV TS (preceded by different pādas of direct address)

yajiṣṭham havyavāhana (and °*nam*) RV (both) Voc accompanies 2d pers pronoun

rudra jalāṣabheṣaja AV *rudram jalāṣabheṣajam* RV

śatamūte satakrato RV *śatamūtim satakratum* RV Voc with *te*, acc with *indram*

stomebhir havanaśrutam (and °*tā*) RV (both) Acc with *mahāntam* (*indram*), voc (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *aśvinā*

stomebhir viśvacarṣaṇim RV *stomebhir viśvacarṣaṇe* RV AV

uttānaparne subhage (Ppp °*nām subhagām*), followed by *devajūte* (Ppp *sahamānām*) *sahasvati* (Ppp °*tīm*) RV AV Ppp (*JAOS* 40 161) The latter also in nom form, §329, *sahamāne*

indav indrāya pītaye RV *indum indrāya pītaye* RV SV

indum (RV also *indav*) *indrāya matsaram* RV (both) SV

indram (RV also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV (both) AV SV

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravineha bhakṣīya TS ('may I enjoy the wealth of thee') *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya dravinehāgameh* VS ('wealth of, come to us here') And others, see VV 1 §104u, and §326 above The forms differ only in accent

§347 We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative variants In these there is direct address both times, but the person or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff) Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form

§348 In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS * °*ta*) RV AV VS (both) MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but Poona ed *indra 'vata*) See VV 1 §354 The voc is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra

namasyāmas tvedyam (KS °*ya*) *jātavedah* RV MS KS TB 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J ' The RV original makes the epithet *īdyam* agree with *tvā*, the KS attracts it to *Jātavedah*, but in either case it refers to the same person

agnim (SV *agne*) *ratham na vedyam* RV SV On this complicated verse (cf also *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV , and below §387) see *RVRep* on 1 186 3, with refcrences, and especially Oldenberg, *Prol* 288 There is no doubt that SV is secondary All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni, this is doubtless the reason for SV 's change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense, the pronoun *vah* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm as equivalent to *tvām*!

pra yā bhūmim (TS ApMB °*mi*) *pravatvati* RV TS MS KS ApMB N Followed by *mahnā jinoşi* (MS *hinoşi*) *mahini* Addressed to Pṛthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmi*)', by a natural confusion TS ApMB assimilate *bhūmi* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūmi*, cf *yāś ca bhūmy* etc , §180

mahyā indram (ApMB *indra*) *svastaye* RV ApMB Occurs twice in ApMB , in different contexts, both different from that of RV On one of them see Winternitz xxix f Both are inferior in sense

§349 The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are

ye tvā rātry (MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS MG *yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe* PG *yām tvā rātry upāsmahe* (TS *upāsate*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*)

AV TS SMB Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d, PG and MG assimilate the form of the orig voc to the object pronoun

indra śaviṣṭha satpate RV *indram śaviṣṭha satpatim* SV Repeated in SV from RV 8 68 1, where the first three pādas are *ā tvā ratham yathotaye sumnāya vartayāmasi, tuvikūrmim ṛīṣaham* The acc epithets of the prec have attracted two of the three vocs of the last pāda, the curious thing is that one (*śaviṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV

śocişkeśam vicakşana (AV * °*nam*) RV ArS AV (both) TS KS Preceded by *tvā deva sūrya* Clear attraction to the prec acc in AV

hotaś cikitvo (AV °*vann*) *avṛṇīmahīha* RV AV *agne hotāram avṛṇīmahīha* VS TS MS KS ŚB In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec 'In that today we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar)'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, MS °*dhīte*, KS * °*dhītam*, v l °*dhītim*, and *†°*nītha*, KapS °*dhītam* or °*dhītim*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) KapS ŚB See §340

svar devā (TS TB ApŚ *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The acc certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *svar*, see §340

vaha kāla (HG *kālam*, v l *kāla*) *vaha śriyam mābhi vaha* ApMB HG Undoubtedly ApMB is correct and original Addressed to an elephant 'Carry, black one, carry! Carry me towards fortune!' Probably *kāla* should be read in HG with two mss, certainly *kālam* does not make sense 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better

Transfer of epithet

§350 The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender) *rayim no dhehi subhage suvīram* (MŚ *suvīre*, PG † *suvīryam*) AV TS MŚ PG 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one' 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons' There is little real difference in the sense, the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner

vardhā samudram ukthyam (SV °*ya*) RV SV In RV *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*, in SV it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a)

indram sakhāyo (KS °yam) anu sam rabhadhvam (KS vyayadhvam) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS The voc *sakhāyo* refers to the subject (warriors), the acc to the object (Indra)

subhage kāmpīlavāsini TS KSA TB ApŚ *subhadrikām kāmpīlavāsinīm* VS MS See Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 141, 144 The words are applied differently, the accs to a rival queen, the vocs (spoken by the priest) to the Mahiṣī Both occur in an obscene passage in the aśvamedha In the voc form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix *ka*

kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣaṇah sakhāyah AV *kṛnota dhūmam vṛṣaṇam sakhāyah* RV The whole AV verse is a wretched corruption of the RV original All that need concern us here is that *vṛṣaṇam*, in the orig an epithet of *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch* , Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyah*

kas tam indra tvāvasum (SV PB *tvā vaso*) RV SV AB GB PB AŚ This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included The RV has a cpd adj agreeing with *tam* The SV misunderstands it as containing an acc *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to *vaso*, which is then a voc going with *indra*

aganma mitrāvaruna varenya (MS *varena*, KS *varenyam*) TS MS KS In KS the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgam*, to be supplied in sense (the following pāda is *rātrīnām bhāgo yuvayor yo asti*) In TS (probably a lect fac) it is made to agree with *mitrāvarunā* MS has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326

achidram (SMB °*rāh*) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB makes the epithet go with the subject, it may be taken as either voc or nom

svargam arvanto jayema Vait *svargān* (AŚ text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ *jayatah*, AŚ also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*) SV AŚ ŚŚ *arvanto* is voc in SV , nom in Vait , in both cases going with the subject (in ŚŚ either nom or voc) In the second version of AŚ it is transferred to the object

ṛbhum ṛbhukṣano rayim RV *ṛbhukṣanam ṛbhum rayim* RV SV In the first passage *ṛbhukṣano* is a voc elliptic plural, 'O Ṛbhukṣan (and the two other Ṛbhus) ' In the second it is an epithet of *rayim* See *RVRep* on 4 37 5

nāma svadhāvan guhyam (ApMB *svadhāvat svaryam*) *bibharṣi* RV ApMB In RV *svadhāvan* refers to Agni, in ApMB it is made an epithet of *nāma*

§351 There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15, in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet'

avavyayann asitam deva vasma (TB ApŚ *vasvah*) RV MS KS TB ApŚ The original 'Removing the black garment, O god' In TB ApŚ *vasvah* must apparently be meant as an epithet of *deva*, its meaning is obscure, Caland translates the RV reading See VV 2 p 124

visvam ā bhāsi rocanam (AV * °*na*) RV ArS AV (both) VS TS MS TA MahānU The subject is the sun, the object, in the orig, *visvam rocanam* In AV *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of the subject, 'shining' This adjective is unknown to the RV, where *rocana* is always a noun

Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors

evā hīndra KB AA TA AŚ Mahānāmnyah The Conc follows the Bibl Ind ed of AA in quoting *hīndram*, but see Keith's AA, 142, n 12 Voc in all

kāma kāmam ma āvartaya PB MŚ *kāmam-kāmam mā āvartaya* MS But one of von Schroeder's best mss reads *kāma kāmam* (both accented), this and the reading of MŚ, its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS is merely due to bad editing

yām iṣum girisanta VS MS TS KS ŚvetU NilarU The ed of NilarU used in Conc has *girisantam* in text and comm But the AnSS ed has °*santa* in text (comm °*santam*) The acc can be construed only with difficulty, Deussen assumes a voc

devayuvam (TB *devā*°) *visvavārām* (AŚ °*vāre*) TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *ghṛtavalīm adhvaryo* (AŚ † °*yoh*) *srucam āsyasva* The accs go with *srucam*, the spoon, perhaps AŚ means *visvavāre* as a voc fem addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the following (*idāmahai devān idenyān*) Note that AŚ is also corrupt in *adhvaryoh* (omitted in Conc, to be added to VV 2 §381)

CHAPTER XIII

VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

A Vocative and instrumental

§353 The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed, while in another form a second vocative may function The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55–7) The examples we have noted are

mo ṣū na indrātra (TS † *indra*) *pṛtsu devaiḥ* (KS *devāḥ*, TS MS *deva*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods!', in KS, 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS TS read *devāstu*, which however MS p p resolves as *devāḥ, astu*— implying the reading of KS The reading *deva* would of course be voc sg, as epithet of Indra, this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15

devīr-devīr (ApŚ *devīr devaiṙ*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS ApŚ In MS an āmredita compound 'Ye several goddesses!' In ApŚ 'Ye goddess along with the gods!'

ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ See notes of Whitney and Keith Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV, *harī* would seem to be voc 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds!'

§354 In another way the voc and instr may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf §29), here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40)

jagatyainam (AŚ °*ty enam*) *vikṣv ā vesayāmah* (MS KS °*mi*, AŚ °*ni*) TS MS KS AŚ The AŚ reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709), but if genuine it could be interpreted

as meaning 'O jagatī (instead of 'by the jagatī') may I settle him in the tribes!' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AŚ

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hiṃsīḥ* GB Vait Kauś 'Thou art ātman, O ātman, injure not my ātman!' or, ' injure not my ātman by the ātman ' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc is original) But Gaastra reads in GB like the others (with v l in 2 mss)

§355 The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2)

devī devebhir yajate (and °*tā*) *yajatraiḥ* RV (both) *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV AV MS The latter is certainly secondary, *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agne*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhir* The contexts are different See *RVRep* 241

§356. In one stray case a voc varies with an adverbial instr

sā nas samantam anu parīhi bhadrayā ApMB *sā mā* (MG *naḥ*) *samantam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG SMB *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā* 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one!' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB says 'fairly', using the old RV adverb Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction, the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747

§357 The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf §15) A voc epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance

utūla parimūdho 'si PG *ūlena parimūdho 'si* HG *ulena pariṣūlo 'si* ApMB Original is apparently PG , *utūla* '(runaway) servant ' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal, see Bloomfield *SBE* 42 643 (on AV 12 1 49) But the interpretation of HG ApMB is very obscure, Oldenberg abandons the text

B Vocative and dative

§358 Here again the variants are few But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf §30) The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case

agnaye (AV Kauś *agne*) *samidham āhārṣam* (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AV Kauś AG GG SMB ŚG PG HG ApMB (The false emendation *agre* in AV is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc) Lanman ap Whitney regards the voc *agne* as original on metrical grounds More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio difficilior The rest of the verse refers to Agni (Jātavedas) in the 3d person, not in direct address, and more particularly, the datives *bṛhate jātavedase* follow immediately, and it is almost certain that *agnaye* has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne* Note that the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni Jātavedas However, the comm on AV reads *agnaye*, and so does one of SPP's reciters 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great J '

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV TS *bṛhaspate mahiṣāya dive namaḥ* Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 273) *bṛhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namaḥ* MŚ Followed by

viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān AV (and Ppp) *namo viśvakarmane sa u pātv asmān* TS MŚ In the first pāda there is a double case, *bṛhaspate* varies with °*pataye*, and *mahiṣa* with °*ṣāya* of Ppp Altho the AV comm reads *mahi ṣad* like TS , we no longer hold the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original reading All texts but TS have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*, we attribute special weight to Ppp *mahiṣāya* which we had previously overlooked We now take the original to be MŚ 'O Bṛhaspati, mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee), homage to Viśvakarman, may he protect us ' Since no dative is expressed in the first pāda, one of the two vocs (which really indicate the recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts, hence *mahiṣāya* Ppp , *bṛhaspataye* AV TS The change to direct address in the second pāda in AV Ppp is also due to a sort of assimilation, it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different divinity

§369 Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation Thus in the first instance the voc is clearly original

and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form

kṣayadvīra (TS °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV TS Addressed to Rudra, the preceding is *are te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam* RV, *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS The meaning of TS is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS, instead of 'hero-ruler', in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy, we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS) But the assimilation is clear

vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vaḥ pannejanīḥ MS KS *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo viśvebhyo vo devebhyaḥ pannejanīr gṛhṇami* TS The former is clearly original 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc' In TS we take it that there is still direct address, *vo* referring to the gods, and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo* At any rate TS means 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or at least, *vo* must certainly go with *viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannejanīr* as Keith takes it)

puṣṭipate (MS *puṣṭa*° ApŚ °*pataye*) *puṣṭis* (MS om) *rakṣuse punar dhehi* (*dehi*) MS AŚ ApŚ Caland adopts voc for ApŚ, but this involves also reading *puṣṭim* for *puṣṭis*, which is supported by AŚ and which MS lacks altogether To us it seems that ApŚ has a genuine (tho secondary) variant 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity! Give back etc'

§360 The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14)

vipra ṭgatham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA °*ṣat*) AA ŚŚ *imprāya ṭgātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV Preceded by *pra va indraya vṛtrahantamaya* In SV the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer)

tasmai rudrāya namo astv agnaye (KS ApŚ *astu devaḥ*, MŚ † *stu devaya*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ ŚirasU (Ppp has the pāda ending *astv adya*, TS TA MahānU ending *astu*) Lectio difficilima in AV (probably original) The voc *devaḥ* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra Add to VV 2 §909

§361 A couple of anomalous cases

ekam iṣe TB ApŚ SMB KhG PG ApMB ApG HG MG Followed, where more than a pratika, by *viṣṇus trāṇvetu* (*nayatu*) 'One (step) for nourishment, may Visnu accompany (lead) thee' Simi-

lar are *iṣa ekapadī* (sc *bhava*) AG ŚG *iṣe tvā sumaṅgalī prajāvatī susīme* Kauś In these the formula is the first of a series employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording In TS we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context from any occurring in the others, as follows *ekam iṣa* (*viṣṇus tvānu vi cakrame*) 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣnu has stepped along after thee' Keith denies any relation between this and the other mantras, but it seems to us probable that he is wrong TS has simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered from other occasions It has turned *iṣe* into a voc, probably thinking of the RV adjective *iṣa* (but comm *sarvadevair iṣyamāṇa*) [*kanīyakumāryai* (TA °*mārī*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU Poona ed of TA °*kumārī*, but with accent on the penult (!), and its comm °*kumārī* Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing only in using various names, in all the others datives are found Neither a voc nor a nom is, in fact, conceivable here Perhaps TA has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging with VV 2 §§700–701 Comm understands a dative, adding *liṅgadivyatyayaḥ sarvatra chāndasa draṣṭavyaḥ* (very simple!)]

C Vocative and ablative

§362 We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original, it is subject of the following verb *yaja* '(O broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice]' In VS ŚB this is violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the comms), but the reading is certainly poor

uro antarikṣa (VS ŚB *uror antarikṣāt*) *sajūr devena vātena* VS TS MS KS ŚB (Delete reference to KS 2 2)

D Vocative and genitive

§363 Here again the variants are not numerous Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final visarga, see especially §366 Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom -voc cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness Thus

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS °*tyaiḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ

Followed in all by *payasvatī rantir* (MS *rātir*) *āśā no astu* 'In (by) [thy] lordship, O Savitar' 'in the lordship of Savitar' But the first part of the stanza is directly addessed to a different deity, and the voc *savitar* is harsh

yena te te prajāpate TB ApŚ *yenaite prajāpateh* MŚ Followed in all by *ījānasya niyavartayan* Here the following gen *ījānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB ApŚ form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateh* But in MŚ 's form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal

tām savitah satyasavām sucitrām AV *tām savitur varenyasya citrām* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed in all by *āham vrne sumatim viśvajanyām* (AV *viśvavārām*) 'O Savitar, this [thy] favor ' 'this favor of Savitar ' In the 3d pāda all, including AV, refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with *asya* This rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV is secondary, on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context

apsu te rājan varuna AV *dvīpe rājño varunasya* KS AŚ Followed by *grho hiranyayo mitah* (AŚ *mito hiranyayah*) 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuna (for king Varuna) ' The 2d half verse refers to Varuna in the 3d person in AV , but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS AŚ , note that they are metrically very poor Form assimilation

yad bhūmer hṛdayam, [divi candramasi śritam] ApMB † *veda te bhūmi hṛdayam* PG HG Even ApMB addresses Earth directly with a voc in the following, it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda

viṣnoh (ApMB *viṣno*, v l *viṣnoh*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh *śraiṣṭhyena*) *rūpena* RVKh ApMB MG 'With the noblest form of Viṣnu' 'with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣnu ' The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV 5 25 10–13, with vocatives, and Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 48 38), with *savitus, viṣnoh, tvaṣtuh*, but *bhagah* (for *bhaga?*) Barret emends to vocs in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ , but this seems dubious procedure The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehi*, in all

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS *sanāmy †agneh*) VS TS MS KS 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni) '

ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo (AŚ † °*yoh*) *srucam īsyasva* TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ See §352, end, AŚ has a stupid corruption

§364 One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2)

punānāya prabhūvaso RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoh* RV The voc agrees directly with *soma*, the gen with *yasya* which refers to Soma
parnam vanaspater iva TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG *parnam vanaspate 'nu tvā* SMB Quite different contexts

§365 We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive These are similar to the variants of the voc with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation
bṛhaspatisutasya ta (KS om *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS MS *inda*) *indriyāvatah patnīvantam* (KS °*vato*) *graham gṛhnāmi* (MS *rādhyāsam*, KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS MS KS *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK *inda*) *indriyāvatah patnīvato grahān ṛdhyāsam* VS VSK ŚB It is evident that VS has assimilated the voc of all other texts to the gen *te* and accompanying adjectives Note that only the Vāj texts have another voc (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary

§366 The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character, the original voc *agne* becomes *agneh* by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381) It will be noted that not a few of the other voc -gen variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested l c it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG , Einleitung, xxvii f) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form, we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant
dā agne (MG *agneh*) *prajayā saha* RV AV PG ApMB MG (All MG mss actually read *dāgneh* with secondary crasis, this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989, Knauer emends) Preceded by *tubhyam agre* (MG *agne*, on this cf VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryām vahatunā saha, punah* (AV *sa nah*) *patibhyo jāyām* 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?) ' But note that MG also contains voc *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni

§367 In a couple of cases a voc varies with a partitive gen (see §84)
tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe RV VS *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants) ' Same context The masc gender is peculiar, apparently there is thought of the

gender of *vṛkṣa* A tree is addressed But fem forms occur in the following verses of AV

atho rājann (AV *uta rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV TB Addressed to a king, either makes good sense The gen *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men')

§368 The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14) To that category certainly belongs the following

purā krūrasya visṛpo virapsin (MS °*sinaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB It is clear that MS has transferred the epithet *virapsin(aḥ)* into agreement with *krūrasya* Otherwise the interpretation is dubious Mahīdhara understands 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer)' So, with misgivings, Eggeling, *SBE* 12 64 n 3 Sāyaṇa on TS 1 1 9 3 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *visṛpo* as abl gerund So Griffith and Keith, Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other

§369 A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc (or nom) to gen

vider agnir (VSK ŚB *agner*, MS MŚ *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS MŚ add *yat te*) VSK TS MS ŚBK MŚ *veda agner nabho nāma* VS KS ŚB See §333 The nom is doubtless the original form, but certainly the voc is better than the gen, which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed

ṣaṣṭis cādhvaryū (ApŚ °*yo*, AŚ † °*yor*) *navatis ca pāśāḥ* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ A voc is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's' Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ

E Vocative and locative

§370 First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf §15), an originally independent noun, in loc construction, is made into a voc epithet of the subject

apadyamānaḥ pṛthivyām TA ApŚ *apadyamānā †pṛthivi* TS ApŚ. *avyathamānā pṛthivyām* (MS once °*vyām* without v l, once *pṛthivī* according to p p, but s p might also be read *pṛthivi*, and one ms has °*vyām*) VS MS KS ŚB Followed in all by *āśā diśa ā pṛna* Except in TA ApŚ the brepan is addressed, and doubtless the

loc is original 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth' In TS (ApŚ), and perhaps once in MS , the loc is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan The earth is a symbol of solidity and security —In TA ApŚ the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a inasculine pple (phrase-inflection)

§371 The next is probably not a real variation in case

sa supranīte (ŚŚ °*tī*) *nṛtamah svarād asi* AA ŚŚ Both forms may be taken as locs , and the text mss of ŚŚ actually read °*te*, see VV 2 §695

CHAPTER XIV

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

1 Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372 The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5) But of course the materials correspond only in part For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form

§373 A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG 4 9, 10 and BDh 2 5 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpana*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*oṃ*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh , *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG So with *vāyu*, *sūrya*, *viṣṇu*, *prajāpati*, etc A similar set occurs in AG , with the verb understood throuout, and expressed (*tṛpyantu*) only at the end The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG , hence such variants as *ṛṣayaḥ* (sc *tṛpyantu*) AG ŚG (*oṃ*) *ṛṣīns tarpayāmi* BDh Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh (*śrutim tarpayāmi*), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG form The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *ISt* 15 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative

§374 Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc , now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom subject Naturally these would find no inclusion in

VV 1, yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts Of these we find the following examples

apochatu (AV °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV 'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimīdins*', or 'let the paired *kimidins* fade away' The verb *apa-vas* is transitive in RV, in this AV passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive In AV 2 8 2 and 3 7 7 it is also commonly taken as intrans, but Bloomfield (*SBE* 42 289, 338 f) would make it trans

ā no viśvasu havyah (SV Svidh *havyam*) RV AV SV AA ŚŚ Vait Svidh Followed in RV AV SV by *indrah* (SV *indram*) *samatsu bhūṣatu* (SV °*tu*) The verb is used in a different sense, explained in §330

ny asmna hrtsu kama (ApMB *kāman*) *ayansata* (AV *aransata*) RV AV ApMB In the RV original 'O Aśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts' In ApMB, with less feeling for the middle 'O Aśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts'

ekapadi dvipadi aṣṭapadi bhuvanasya prathamam svahā TS *ekapadim aṣṭapadim bhuvanānu prathantam* VS ŚB *ekapadam dvipadam †tripadam catuṣpadam bhuvanasya prathantam* KS Only TS seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds' In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*, cf the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous Comm on VS and Eggeling make *bhuvana* subject 'let the worlds spread her along' or (comm) 'make her renowned' Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV 1 p 268

somam rajanam oṣadhiṣv apsu VS TS MS ŚB *somo rajaoṣadhiṣv apsu* KS Preceded by *vajasyemam* (KS *vajasya nu*) *prasavah suṣuve gre* (TS *†agre*, add to VV 2 §908) In the original 'The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,' etc KS eliminates the pronoun *imam* and brings *somo raja* into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive, probably it also understands *prasavah* as 'offshoot' 'The offshoot of strength, (viz) King Soma, was pressed out'

§375 A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed

avrato (AA °*tam*) *hinoti na spṛśad rayim* (AA *rayih*) SV AA Preceded in SV by *na kamam*, in AA by *na somo* 'The man who pays no

vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA See Keith's note on AA

§376 Frequent in the YV formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf §126) in which no verb at all is expressed In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulaic) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts, or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed So we get such variants as these, it would hardly be worth while to list them completely

himavate (TS KSA TA °*to*) *hastī* (TA *hastinam*) VS TS MS KSA TA 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant'

dhūmi ān vasantāyālabhate VS *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS In the same passage, *pṛṣato hemantāya* VS, *pṛṣanto hemantāya* MS, and others

anumatyai caruh (MS *carum*) TS MS KSA *adityai viṣnupatnyai carum* (KSA *caruh*) VS TS MS KSA And others

agnaye 'nhomuce 'ṣṭākapālah TS KSA ApŚ *agnaye 'nhomuce purodāsam aṣṭākapālam nirvapati* MS In this and the following MS alone has acc throuout, all others nom, the verb *nirvapati* is however regularly omitted in MS So

agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādasakapālah VS TS KS KSA *vaisvānaram dvādaśakapālam* MS

mitrāvarunābhyām āgomugbhyām payasyā (MS °*yām*) TS MS KSA Similarly *marudbhya onomugbhyām* etc, *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc, *brhaspataye pāuktāya* etc

§377 In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc and nom The case to be expected is rather dat or gen, cf §485 under *agnim svāhā* etc The TB comm supplies *uddiśya* to govern the acc No explanation of the nom in ŚB is offered by the comm or by Eggeling Perhaps an intransitive form of *krp* is to be supplied with the nom and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat*) with the acc (cf §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim*) Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc forms in ŚB

svāhā devā ājyapāh (TB *devān ājyapān*) ŚB TB

§378 Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kr* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc, varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulaic verb Thus
parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV, rather than 'I put' with Whitney), 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces')

ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām sahasvantam*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait *āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*) TS MS AŚ Vait *ojasvān aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VSK *ojasvy aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* ŚŚ *ojiṣṭho 'ham man° bhū°* VS ŚB

bhrājasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām varcasvantam*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* TS MS *bhrājasvān* (ŚG *bhrājasvy*) *aham* (VS ŚB *bhrājiṣṭho 'ham*) *manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ

jaradaṣṭim kṛnomi tvā AV *jaradaṣṭir bhavinyāsaṁ* SMB Ppp (*JAOS* 42 125) reads as SMB

brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV SV ApŚ *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ 'Brahman is my inner defense' 'I make B my inner (defense)'

asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī AV *asmākam kṛnmo harivo medinam tvā* Ppp (*JAOS* 37 263 f) *iha kṛnmo harivo medinam tvā* KS *asya* (RVKh Scheftelowitz *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh *kulmo*, Sch em *kurmo*) *harivo medinam* (RVKh Sch *vedinam*) *tvā* RVKh TS TB

viśvāhā dhattam anapasphurantīm RV VS ŚB ApŚ *viśvāhā santv anapasphurantīḥ* AV TA

catuṣṭomo abhavad (MS KS *catuṣṭomam adadhād*) *yā turīyā* TS MS KS 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma'

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N °*nam*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś *sadanāni santu*) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ

ariṣṭām tvā (KŚ MŚ MG *mā*) *saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB *kṛnomi*, KŚ MŚ MG *dadhātu*) RV KŚ MŚ MG ApMB *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman

aśmānam tanvam kṛdhi AV *aśmā bhavatu nas* (AV *te*) *tanūḥ* RV AV VS TS MS KSA *aśmā bhava paraśur bhava* ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB HG MG ApMB The contexts are in part similar

ākhum te rudra paśum karomi MS MŚ *ākhus te pasuḥ* VS TS TB ŚB ApŚ *ākhus te rudra paśuḥ* TS ApŚ

yathā tvam (PG *tvam agne*) *suśravaḥ suśravā asy* (SMB *deveṣv*) *evam aham suśravaḥ suśravā bhūyāsam* (SMB *brāhmaneṣu bhūyāsam*,

AG PG MG *evam mām suśravah sauśravasam kuru*) AG SMB PG ApMB MG

§379 In a couple of other cases forms of *dhṛ* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom form of the variant, otherwise they are exactly like the preceding

evā te dhriyatām garbhah AV *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV *evam garbham dadhāmi te 'sau* (ApMB *dadhātu te*, HG *dadhāmi te*) ŚB BṛhU ŚG ApMB HG *evam tam garbham ā dhehi* RVKh MG *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB

viśvasya jantor adhamam cakāra (RV * AV *adhamas padīṣṭa*) RV (both) AV 'He has made him lowest of every creature' 'may he fall lowest of every creature'

§380 There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root, these are given first

evam aham āyuṣā samindhe (SMB *samedhiṣiya*) SMB PG *evam mām āyuṣā* (HG *mām medhayā*) *samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'

sahobhau caratām dharmam MDh *saha dharmam cara* NāradaDh *saha dharmaṇ caryatām* GDh

tvam yajñeṣv īdyah RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *tvām yajñeṣv īdate* RV

vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā AV *vedir bhūmir akalpata* AV Both in same hymn, 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*' 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*'

varca ā dhehi (KS *dhāyi*) *me tanvam* (KS *tanūh*) AV KS 'Set splendor in my body' 'my body has been set in splendor' On *tanvam* see §249

mānīṣām (TS TB ApŚ *maiṣām*) *kam canoc chiṣah* RV SV VS TS TB ApŚ *maiṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV *māmīṣām moci kas cana* AV 'Leave not one of them' 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go')

ganā (KS *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS KS ŚB *ganān me mā vi tiṭṛṣah* (MŚ *vi tiṭṛṣat*, Vait *vy arīriṣah*) TS Vait MŚ

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha PB *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ

yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya PB *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* TS ApŚ *yunajmi tisro vivṛtah sūryah sava* [*iti*] MŚ

dviṣantam (AV *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV AV

TB ApŚ *dvṛṣaṅś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *dvṛṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ All in the same verse Add to VV 1 §§79, 238

mṛtyava ekaśatam parah Kauś *mṛtyūn ekasatam caye* ApŚ Others, §509 The verb in Kauś is *nir yantu*

pāpmānam te 'paharāmah KŚ *pāpmānam me 'pa jahi* (MG *me hata*) Kauś MG *pāpmā me hatah* AG *hato me pāpmā* AG MG

caritrāṁs te śundhāmi VS ŚB *śuddhāś caritrah* TS ApŚ

trayastrinśat (VS *catustrinsat*) *tantavo ye vi tatnire* (MS *yam* [for *yān*?] *vi tanvate*, KS AŚ *yān vi tanvate*) VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ' which were stretched out (which they stretched out) '

ad id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS KS N *ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS

athaṛṣām bhinnakah kumbhah SMB *bhinadmi te kuṣumbham* AV *atho bhinadmi tam kumbham* Ppp

ayam vai tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhijayatam asau svāhā ŚŚ *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhijāyatām* (JB *°thā eṣa tvaj jāyatām*) JB AG Kauś

yenākṣā (SMB *°kṣān*, PG *°kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣam*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyasiñcatam*, PG *abhyasiñcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

apahato 'raruh pṛthivyai (also *°vyai devayajanyai*, *°vyā adevayajanah*) TS ApŚ *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanaj* (ApŚ † *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād bādhyāsam* VS ŚB *apararum pṛthivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ *°rum adevayajanam pṛthivyāh*) MS MŚ ApŚ (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS formula)

§381 In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom form, as in §§376 7

pumānsam putram janaya AV ŚG *pumāns te putro nāri* ApMB 'Bear a male son' 'a male son is thine, O woman '

antarikṣasya dhartrīm (TS om *an° dha°*) *viṣṭambhanīm* (TS *°nī*) *diśām adhipatnīm* (TS *°nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS *diśam bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS predicate noms with preceding copula, in the others agreeing with object of *sādayāmi*

sūryam cakṣur yamayatāt, vātam prānam anvavasṛjatat MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ *sūryas te* (AV *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātah prānah* AV TS KSA ŚŚ [Cf *sūryam* (TA *sūryam te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā* RV TA *sūryaś cakṣur vātah prānam, puruṣasya vi bhejire* AV] In the same passages *antarikṣam asum* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

antarikṣam ātmā AV TA ŚŚ *pṛthivīm śarīram* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ *pṛthivī śarīram* (MŚ °*ram asi*) AV ŚŚ MŚ With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula 'understood', as used to be said) MŚ in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *asi*, which would seem to require a voc instead of nom *pṛthivī*, or else *pṛthivī-śarīram* as a cpd

agaṇma yatra pratiranta āyuh (MG *prataram na āyuh*) RV AV MG 'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like) '

§382 Others, in which the nom form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are

ā te prāṇam suvāmasi AV *punas te prāṇa āyati* (TA *āyati*, AŚ *āyātu*) TS † TA AŚ

sahasraṇa upa no mahi vājan (*no yantu vājāh*) RV (both)

tasya te iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣiya TS *tasya meṣṭasya vitasya dravinam ā gamyat* TS *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya d.avinam māgachatu* KS And others, see VV 1 §104u Cf also §326 above

iḥaiva tiṣṭha nimita (MG *nitara*) AG ŚG MG ApMB *iḥaiva dhruvā* (ŚG *sthūne*) *prati tiṣṭha śale* (ŚG *dhruva*) AV ŚG HG *iḥaiva dhruvām ni minomi śalam* AV PG HG

ūrṇamradasam (*ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇami* (KS *ūrṇamradah prathasva*, Kauś *ūrṇamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyah* VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ *ūrṇamradah* of KS might be taken as voc (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś suggests rather nom , and *svasastham* can only be nom (neut)

yamāya somam sunuta (AV *somah pavate*) RV AV TA

§383 We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision

sam ī vatsam na mātṛbhih RV SV AB AŚ *sam vatsa iva matṛbhih* RV SV AB AŚ The first is followed by *sṛjatā gayasadhanam*, the second by *indur hinvāno ajyate* The calf is compared to soma in both, and the sense is essentially identical The two hymns are workings-up of the same material, see *RVRep* 13, and on 9 104 2 We find here something like the 'phrase inflection' found in the next group

2 Phrase Inflection

§384 Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted out of its original context and put into a new context This, naturally,

may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2) As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom is required, in the other the acc (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case)

§385 A simple illustration is the pāda *kṣīrena pūrna (pūrnān) udakena dadhnā* (both AV) In the first form the nom agrees with the noms of the preceding pāda (*ghṛtahradā madhukūlāh surodakāh*), in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhāns* of the preceding pāda (*caturah kumbhāns caturdhā dadāmi*)

§386 Sometimes two entire pādas are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words Thus the two following variant pādas are pādas b, c of a verse which in RV has for a *tam ahyan bhurijor dhiya*, but in SV *esa suryena hasate* The epithets of Soma are in RV objects of *ahyan*, in SV subjects of *hāsate*
samvasānam (SV °*no*) *vivasvatah* (SV °*ta*), followed by
patim (SV *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV °*yah*) RV SV

§387. The long list of such variants now follows It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388) Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for
pavamano vicarṣanih RV *pavamānam vicarṣanim* RV In quite different contexts, nom subject of *arocayat*, acc object of *gāyata*
tiro rajansy asprtam (RV * °*tah*, SV *astrtah*) RV (both) SV
kosa iva pūrno vasuna SMB · *kośam na pūrnam vasunā nyṛṣtam* RV AV
agnī ratho na vedyah RV *agnim ratham na vedyam* RV Cf §348
hiranyābhīśum (and °*śur*) *asvinā* RV (both) See *RVRep* on 8 5 28
īśāno jagatas patih AV TS KS ApMB *īśānam jagadaih sada* PG
avyo vāre (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyah* (and, *priyam*) RV SV (both in each)
pībasphākam udārathim AV *pīvo vṛkka udārathih* RV KS
viśvasya jagato niśām (ArS *rātrī*) RVKh ArS
sindhutas pary ābhṛtah (and °*tam*) AV (both)
sutam somam divisṭiṣu RV *sutah somo divisṭiṣu* RV SV
suṣamiddham (VS *susami*°) *varenyam* VS TB *suṣamiddho* (VS MS *susam*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS TB

suṣvānam (and °*no*) *devavītaye* RV SV (both in each)

ṛṣibhiḥ sambhṛtam rasam RV SV TB *ṛṣ° sambhṛto rasaḥ* RVKh SV TB

barhiṣ ca vediṣ (ŚŚ *vedim*) *ca* MS ŚŚ

dogdhrīm dhenum ŚŚ *dogdhrī dhenuḥ* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB The verb is *āsuvam* in ŚŚ, in the others *jāyatām* Likewise, in the same passages, these acc forms in ŚŚ with corresponding noms in the others *volhāram anaḍvāham, āsum saptim, ṛṣṇum ratheṣṭhām, puramdhim yoṣām, sabheyam yuvānam* The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale

bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam (AV.* °*naḥ*, TA † *anapaspaśānam*) RV AV (bis) MS TA N The same verse, with acc governed by following verb, in all except AV 6 28 3, where the nom occurs preceded by *yaḥ prathamaḥ pravatam a sasāda* This AV passage has adapted the orig to a quite new context, see Whitney's note and Pischel, *VSt* 2 73

tiraḥ tamāṃsi darśataḥ (RV * °*tam*) RV (both) AV SV TB ŚB ŚŚ The RV acc form and ŚŚ are followed by

ghṛtahavanam īḍyam RV *ghṛtahavana iḍyaḥ* ŚŚ The nom of RV etc is in apposition with *agniḥ*, subject of *sam idhyate*, the acc is appropriate to its different context In ŚŚ both occur as nivids, cf *RVRep* 192

agniḥ (RV *°*agnim*) *śukreṇa śociṣā* RV (both) KS

apāṃ patim vṛṣabham oṣadhīnam KS *apam patir vṛṣabha* (KS om *vṛ°*) *oṣadhīnam* MS KS

ghṛtam duhānām aditim janāya VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *ghṛtam duhanaditir janāya* KS

sahasradhāra payasā mahi gauḥ RV *sahasradharam payasa mahīm gām* VS TS MS KS ŚB Occurs thrice in RV, the nom being subject of various verbs In the others preceded by *yam asya kanvo aduhat prapīnām*, a pāda found also in AV, where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz *sahasradhāram mahiṣo bhagaya*

manaḥ sahasravīryaḥ AV *manim sahasravīryam* AV

yajiṣṭham havyavāhana (and °*nam*) RV *yajiṣṭho havyavāhanaḥ* RV

rathītamam rathīnām RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *rathītamo rathīnām* RV See *RVRep* on 1 11 1

viśvajanasya chāyā (MS KS MŚ ApMB *chāyāsi*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ ApMB *viśvajanasya chayām* ApŚ

āyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam HG · *āyuh kīrtim yaśo balam annādyam prajām* PG

sahasradhāram (TAA * °*ro*) *akṣitam* (TAA * °*tah*) RV AV TAA (both) In RV both words are acc masc , epithets of *indum* In AV twice in a wholly different stanza *ud utsam śatadhāram, sah° akṣ°, evāsmākedam dhānyam, sah° akṣ°* This is recast in TAA thus *yathā kūpah śatadhārah, sahasradhāro akṣitah, evā me astu dhānyam, sahasradhāram akṣitam* Ppp (*JAOS* 37 294 ff) agrees with TAA but for *akṣatah* and *akṣatam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rūpaś* for *kūpaś*, which Barret l c failed to correct The Ppp TAA reading makes both forms nom both times (once masc , once neut), and is simpler than AVŚ , which is certainly harsh, see Whitney on 3 24 4, who takes the forms as acc depending on the verb of the prec stanza In pāda d they might be taken as nom neut , as in Ppp TAA , but in b this is difficult, since *utsa* is otherwise masc We feel however that accs are impossible, and that either *utsa* is here felt as neut , or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom neut) Cf the next, which is evidently related

sahasradharam śatadhāram utsam akṣitam AV *sahasradhara utso akṣiyamānah* ApŚ Cf preceding Different contexts

añjabhedam añjajvaram AV *añjabhedo añjajvarah* AV

indram (RV * *indrah*) *somasya pītaye* (RV * adds *vṛṣāyate*) RV (both) AV SV

duhśansam martyam ripum RV *duhśanso martyo ripuh* RV

dhanamjayam rane-rane RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait MŚ *dhanamjayo rane-rane* RV SV TS MS KS

manhiṣṭham vājasātaye RV SV *manhiṣṭho vājasātaye* RV AA ŚŚ

prajāpatih prathamajā ṛtasya AV MS TS TA MahānU *prajāpatim prathamajām ṛtasya* MS TB

§388 The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case

bahvīm prajām janayantīm surūpām (ApMB * *janayantī suratnā*,* *janayantau saretasā*) TA MahānU ApMB (bis)

aṣṭasthūno daśapakṣah Kauś *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV

sadhram adya divispṛśam (RV * SV MS * KS °*sah*) RV (both) SV TS MS (both) KS ApŚ N For *divispṛśah*, nom pl rather than gen sg , see *RVRep* on 1 142 8

gaur aśvah puruṣah paśuh AV TA *gām aśvam puruṣam jagat* (AV *paśum*, RVKh *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV TA MahānU ApMB HG *gā asvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ

viśvā rūpāni bibhratah (AV * °*tam*) AV (both) MS

samānam yonim anu samcarantam RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *samānam yonim anu samcaranti* (AV MS °*carete*) RV AV TS MS KS ApMB

manhiṣṭham vo maghonām RV *manhiṣṭhāso maghonām* RV

viśvair devair anumatā (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhih* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA In both KS TA different contexts, in KS neut acc adverb, see §817, in TA masc acc adjective, §849

amṛtā martyebhyah RV *amṛtam martyābhyah* TB ApŚ

sahasrasā medhasātā sanisyavah (RV KB *medhasātāv iva tmanā*, VSK *medhasātā iva tmanā*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB *sahasrasām medhasātāv iva tmanā* RV SV

3 Interchange of subject and object

§389 We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as object Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman'

udgrābham ca nigrābham ca VS TS ŚB ApŚ *udgrābhaś ca nigrābhaś ca* MS KS MŚ Followed in all but MŚ by

brahma devā (MS s p *devan*, KS *devān*) *avīvrdhan* (MS KS °*dhat*) The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it, cf Keith on TS 1 1 13 1

na tat prāpnoti nirrtim parācaih (KŚ *nirrtih parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ *nābhi prāpnoti* (MŚ *prāpnuyur*) *nirrtim parācaih* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not destruction' For MŚ 's verb see VV 1 p 265

ojo na jūtir (TB *jūtim*) *rsabho* (MS † *vrs*°, add to VV 2 §359) *na bhāmam* VS MS TB Followed by *vanaspatir no dadhad indriyāni* TB makes *ojas* subject and *jūti* predicate of the first simile, reversing the relationship found in the others, but there is little real difference

tābhiḥ samrabdham anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣad urvīḥ* AV TB 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them', or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions)' In a mystic verse to Rohita, one version makes as good or as bad sense as the other

viśvam anyām abhīvāra AV (Ppp *viśvam anyābhi vavāra*, which Whitney adopts, the Barret *JAOS* 26 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*) *viśvam anyābhivāvṛdhe* TB ApŚ No doubt Ppp, supported by TB ApŚ, is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object, but the AVŚ reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one'

jyok ca paśyāt (PG °*āsi*, MG °*ati*) *sūryam* (MG °*yah*) AG PG ApMB MG 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun behold him)' See VV 1 p 235

gamad indram (SV *indro*) *vṛṣā sutah* (SV *sutam*) RV SV Apparently the reversal of relationship in SV was due to a feeling that *vṛṣā* is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sutah*)

tam vartanir (SV °*nīr*) *anu vāvṛta ekam it puru* (SV *eka it*) SV AV 'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV) 'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV) The latter is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV

ā tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh SV *o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām* RV AV In SV the passage is extensively reconstructed, the original object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also), and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pronoun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the object *tvā*

§390 In the remainder there is no double nom -acc shift, but a single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc), of the (always 'transitive') verb

pra yakṣma etu nirṛtim (AV °*tih*) *parācaih* AV TB HG ApMB 'Let the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV), 'let the fever go far away to perdition'

jajñānam (SV °*nah*) *sapta mātarah* (SV *mātṛbhih*) RV SV Followed by *vedhām aśāsata śriye* RV, *medhām āśāsata śriye* SV

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ Followed by *ayā dhiyā taranir adribarhāh* (ŚŚ *añgirasvān*) The TB comm makes *indram* acc of goal, supplying *gachatu*, the subject is *sūrah* = *ādityah* ŚŚ makes *indrah* subject and *sūrye* loc

tiṣṭhantam ava gūhati (mss °*si*) AV *tiṣṭhann evāva gūhasi* ŚŚ No intelligible meaning in either form

agninā tapo 'nvabhavat (KS † KSA † *'nvābhavat*) TS KS KSA TB ApŚ Followed in TS KS KSA by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS and KSA construe it as acc , this is doubtless the original construction 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) *tapas*' KS makes it nom *'tapas* has come up to (equalled, attained, sc him) thru (by) Agni' Other phrases in the same lists are *yamena pitŕn* (KS *pitarah*), *rudrena devan* (KS *devāh*, not in KSA), *vātena prānan* (KS *vāyunā pranah*, not in KSA), *vyaghrenaranyān pasūn* (KS °*aranyah pasavah*), *rsabhena* (KS KSA *vrs*°) *gah* (KS *gāvah*), *vrsnināvih* (KS °*avayah*), *yavenausadhīh* (KS °*dhayah*), *brāhmanena vācam* (KS *vācah*)

vi parjanyam (TS °*yah*) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyah srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS In RV the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyam* defines the *divah kosam* of the preceding half-verse The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divah kosam*

muñcatu (KS *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ *yajño*, KS adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasah svaha* MS KS ApŚ In MS preceded by *vardhatam bhutir dadhnā ghrtena*, in KS by a similar but expanded phrase It is evident that *bhuti* 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil' ApŚ with the same context as MS produces a lectio facilior by making *yajñah* the subject of *muñcatu* 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer '

pra yam (SV *yo*) *rayo nanisasi* (SV °*sati*) RV SV In VV 1 p 243 we have taken SV (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*marto yas te vaso dasat*) But perhaps Benfey may be right in making *yo* refer to *te* (= Agni) 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth' As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct

prasnapayanty ūrminam RV *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV The acc in RV is an epithet of soma, in SV it is replaced by an additional subject 'the ten associates (i e fingers) wash (soma), and the waves ' See VV 1 p 48, the SV form must intend present middle Delete this variant on VV 1 p 143

śriyam ca lakşmīm ca TAA *śrīś ca lakşmīś* TAA *śrīś ca puştis*

MahānU Same context, in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm supplies *paramātmā*

[*indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB *indram karmasv avatu* MS For the better reading of TB see §326]

§391 In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another

samudrā (MS °*drān*) *nadyo veśantāh* (MS °*tān*) AV MS Preceded by *divam brūmo nakṣatrāni, bhūmim yakṣāni parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu aṁhasah* In AV the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS of the object of *brūmo*

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS (*svāhā*) *devān ājyapān svāhāgnim hotrāj juṣānā agna ājyasya vyantu* TB In the first version *devāh* is subject of *vyantu*, in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agnim svāhājyasya* [sc *devān*])

yenāvṛtam kham ca divam mahīm (MahānU *mahī*, v l *mahīm*) *ca* TA MahānU Followed by *yenādityas tapati tejasā bhrājasā ca* If the nom be read, *mahī* (with *kham* and *divam* which must then also be nom) would be subject of *āvṛtam* 'by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth ' But Deussen's translation implies the v l *mahīm* in MahānU , in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth ' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so

4 Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhus* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation Thus

iyam vedih paro antah pṛthivyāh RV AV VS ŚB AŚ LŚ *vedim āhuh param antam pṛthivyāh* TS KSA In the same verse

ayam yajño bhuvanasya (AV *nsvasya bhu*°) *nābhih* RV AV VS LŚ *yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhim* TS KSA And likewise

ayam somo vṛṣno aśvasya retaḥ RV AV VS LŚ *somam āhur vṛṣno* TS KSA —In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom remains in all texts Cf also

dīrgham yac cakṣur adhiter anantam AŚ *yad āhuś cakṣur adhīv anantam* PB JB (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48 24 R) Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender, and here the form with *āhus* is likely to be older

§393 The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom to make the syntax clear, in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence

nirṛtim tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ VS MS ŚB *nirṛtir iti tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ* (AV *sarvataḥ*) AV TS KS The meter seems to indicate that the acc is original, it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with *iti*, which may have attracted *nirṛtim* into its own construction 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti'

atas tva rayim abhi (SV *rayir abhy ayat*) RV SV The RV original makes *tva* object of *bharat* in pāda c, and *rayim abhi* probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches' (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann) SV by a lect fac expands into a separate sentence 'thence may riches come unto thee'

anāgaso yajamānasya vīrāḥ (MŚ *vīrān*) AV ApŚ MŚ (Mss of MŚ *anuṣaso* for *anā°*, and all but one *vīram*) The original has an independent sentence with nom , MŚ attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no dveṣṭi* preceding

nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (TS *°dhānam agnim*, MS KS *°dhāno agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The only possible construction for the nom in MS KS seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject, *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣāya bṛhate havāmahe*) 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth, we call Agni unto great increase of wealth' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality, the other texts look suspiciously like lect fac

tvām (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV MS KS TB Preceded in all by *tvām vardhanti kṣitayaḥ pṛthivyām* In RV etc supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya ubh°* subject, *tvam* object) In

TB thus is made an independent statement (*tvam* subject, *rāya ubh°* predicate, comm *tatsampādaka ity arthah*)

agnim (SV *agnih*) *sudītaye chardih* RV AV SV (Conc VS for SV) In RV AV *agnim* and *chardih* are both accs with the preceding *īdiṣva* In SV 'Agni is the chardis'

adhvarakṛtam (TA °*kṛd*) *devebhyah* VS ŚB TA Preceded by *tvā ādade*, in VS ŚB *adhvarakṛtam* agrees with *tvā* But TA inserts between the two passages *abhrir asi nārir asi*, thus it makes our variant pāda an independent statement, understanding *asi*

indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi AV *indrasya bhāgah suvite dadhātana* ApŚ The latter is scarcely intelligible, *bhāgah*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood The plural *dadhātana* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow

tāni (HG *tām nah*, PG *sā nah*) *pūṣaṇ* (AV *pūṣan*, PG *pūṣā*) *chivatamām* (PG *śiv°*) *erayasva* (PG *eraya*) RV AV ApMB ApG HG PG The PG has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us, bring her hither, most felicitous' The comm so takes it, Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading

agnim hotāram iha (MS MŚ *upa*) *tam huve* TS MS ApŚ MŚ *agnir hotopa tam huve* KS 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar' 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither'

akṣatam ariṣṭam ūtibhih SMB *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ūtibhir gopāyatam* ŚG In both preceded by a formula containing acc *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB, in ŚG they are made predicates of a separate sentence It is hard to say which is original here

§394 A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc is part of the main clause Thus

tam u ṣṭuhi yo antah sindhau AV *tam u ṣṭuhy antahsindhum* AŚ Followed by

sūnuh (AŚ *sūnum*) *satyasya yuvānam* 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' The relative clause is here original, AŚ compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuh* also to *sūnum* Note the chiastic, rhetorically involved order of AV (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *tam* at the beginning) AŚ has a lect fac, involving case attraction, but all the epithets refer to the same person

§395 The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom appears only in the secondary PG

samvatsarasya pratimām (PG °*mā*) AV TS KS ApŚ SMB PG HG MG The following pāda in PG is *yā tam rātrīm upāsmahe* (for the others see VV 1 p 213), only PG has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate

§396 Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions

tam kravyādam aśīsamam AV *yah kravyāt tam aśīśamam* Kauś

veda te bhūmi hṛdayam PG HG *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [†*div candramasi śritam*] ApMB The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt

yo devo viśvād yam u kamam āhuh AV *visvādam agnim yam u* MS *hutādam agnim yam u* KS *yam hutādam agnim yam u* ApŚ The nom is doubtless original, the acc being due to attraction to the case of the following, note that ApŚ still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following

dhattād asmabhyam dravinēha bhadram (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca bhadram*) TS MS ApŚ *datto asmabhyam* (etc , see Conc) *dravinēha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

apāsya ye †sinah pasah KS ApŚ ('off what fetters are bound on him') *apāsyāh satvanah pāśān* Kauś Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS ed *mṛtyor*, but best ms *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam suve* (Kauś *nude*) The secondary change in Kauś is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*

tābhir vahatnam sukṛtām u lokam (TA *vahemam sukṛtām yatra lokāh*) RV AV TA *vahāsi mā* (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB ApŚ

prchāmi (LŚ °*mo*) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhih* RV VS LŚ *prchāmi tvā* (AV *visvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhim* AV TS KSA TB

§397 In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause, the nom is construed as part of this, while the acc is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity) As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction

āranyān (AV VS °*yā*) *grāmyās ca ye* RV AV (bis) VS TA Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūns*) *tāns cakre vāyavyān* In RV TA *āranyān* goes with the preceding accusatives, in AV VS it is attracted into the relative clause In AV 11 5 21 the pāda occurs in a different context

jyesthо (SV °*tham*) *yo vṛtrahā grne* RV AV SV There are no other

acc in the stanza, SV has turned *jyeṣṭho* into an acc to provide an object for the verb *gṛṇe*

citrabhānum (TB ApŚ °*bhānū*) *rodasī antar urvī* RV SV MS KS. TB ApŚ Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yaviṣṭham, yo dīdāya samiddhaḥ sve durone* (with unimportant variants) The acc goes with *yaviṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda, because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo* This assumes that the TB comm is right in understanding °*bhānuḥ*, nom sg , instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible

kakṣīvantam ya auśijaḥ (TS TA °*jam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA N The Tait version can only be interpreted by referring *ya*(*ḥ*) to the god addressed 'who (didst make famous) K A ' So Sāyana, who supplies *kṛtavān asi*, and Keith Of course the other reading (in which K° goes with the preceding object acc and is referred to by the relative, 'K who is the A ') is original (cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 18 1)

yathā mitrāya varuṇāya śaṁtamaḥ (SV °*mam*) RV SV Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanam, yathā śardhāya vītaye* 'Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M and V ' So RV , making *śaṁtamaḥ* subject of a separate clause, SV brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanam*

yadi śrāto (AV *srātam*) *juhotana* RV AV ApŚ MŚ Followed by

yady aśrāto (AV °*tam*) *mamattana*, same texts The preceding pāda of RV AV makes clear the antecedent *indrasya bhāgam ṛtuyam* 'If cooked do ye offer it, if not cooked, delay ' The AV has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam* (The comm on AV , however, takes them as nom neuter, supplying *havīḥ*)

svarpatim yad īm vṛdhe RV AV *svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV The acc agrees with *indram* (*somasya pītaye*) in the preceding pāda, SV makes it subject of *vṛdhe*

5 Case attraction

§398 The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer

of epithet', but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples

hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm (TB °*tī*) VS MS TB It seems fairly clear that TB has attracted *saras*° to the case of *tanūnapāt*, but how either of the noms is to be construed is not obvious Comm on VS dares to say that *tanū*° is nom used for acc ! Perhaps the TB version may be understood as containing an independent statement 'Let the hotar worship! (The deities are) Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī '

anyam (AV *anya*) *ū ṣu tvam* (AV omits *tvam*) *yamy anya u tvām* RV AV N See Whitney on AV 18 1 16 We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya*

apsu dhūto nṛbhiḥ sutaḥ RV *apsu dhautam nṛbhiḥ sutam* SV Preceded by *śubhram andho devavātam*, and followed by *svadanti gāvaḥ payobhiḥ* Sāyana takes the RV pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti* SV assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect fac Grassmann's suggestion that RV is incorrect is implausible

§399 As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption

hṛtsu kratum †*varuno* (MS °*nam*) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The subject is originally Varuna, who has installed 'insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings' MS has an unintelligent assimilation of V to the surrounding accs , perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza

tebhiḥ (AV VS VSK *tebhyaḥ*) *svarād asunītim etām* (AV *asunīti no adya*) RV AV VS VSK It seems clear that AV , which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītim* to the case of the adjoining word The following pāda is *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV *kalpayasva*)

viṣṇum agan varunam pūrvahūtiḥ AV *viṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °*tim*) VS MS ṢB TB AŚ ŚŚ In AV the prayer itself is the subject of *agan*, in MS it is made the goal, along with Viṣnu and Varuna, the subject being the offering or the water used with it The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal, agreeing in sense with MS , but see §457

gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryavir (KS *triya°*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS TB *gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryavim gam vayo dadhat* VS TB The noms are subjects of *dadhuh*, the accs objects of *dadhat*, being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs (objects) in both versions These are the first of a series of formulas, all of the same type, the meter names (in nom form) are *uṣnik* (*uṣnihā*), *anuṣṭup, brhatī, paṅktiś, triṣṭup, jagatī, virāṭ, dvipadā* (*dvipāc*), *kakup* (*kakuc*), *atichandā* For the epithets of cattle (*dityavād, pañcāvir* etc) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Conc

ukhām (MS KS † *ukha*) *svasāram adhi vedim asthāt* MS KS ApŚ Preceded by *syūtā devebhir amṛtenāgah* (MS KS °*āgāt*) The word *ukhā* is subject in MS KS and it seems scarcely possible to interpret ApŚ (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise, yet ApŚ stupidly assimilates the form to the following accs Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir Ś also reads *ukhām*, so that the corruption is evidently very old

devah savitābhimātiṣahah AV *savita devo 'bhimatiṣāhah* Ppp *devam trātāram* (TS KS *savitāram*) *abhimātiṣāham* RV TS KS Assuming (cf Oldenberg, *Prol* 326 f) that the acc , as in RV TS KS , is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom in AV is easy to understand In AV the preceding pāda is *dhata vidhata bhuvanasya yas patih*, and the following *aditya rudrā asvinobha, devah pāntu yajamānam nirṛthāt* I'or c the others have a different version beginning *imam yajñam* (cf §329), it is significant that this acc is also eliminated in AV

yajñasya (AV *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhava me* (AV *no*) *astu* AV TB SMB Preceded by *akūtīm devīm manasa prapadye* in SMB , which has put the epithet *mātā* syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*, the meter proves it secondary

samyag āyur †yajño (MŚ *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhah*) KS MŚ See VV 1 p 100 In MŚ *yajñam* is attracted to the case of *āyur*

īdāno (KS °*na*) *vahnir* (KS *vahnim*) *namasa* AV VS VSK TS MS KS Followed by

agnim (AV *agnih*) *sruco adhvareṣu prayatsu* (AV *prayakṣu*), same texts The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS TS MS A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration, to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed ' In AV *agnim* is

changed to *agnih* to agree with its synonym *vahnih*, and the two pādas are more closely connected than in the original In KS the attraction has worked in the opposite direction, *vahnir* becomes *vahnim* to match *agnim*, *sruco* is now the subject, *īdānā* agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* [AV *ghṛtā cit*], see §467) is changed to *achāyami yanti śavasā ghṛtācīḥ* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!) 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier ' Ppp has *īde vahnim namasāgnim sruco 'dhvareṣu prayatsu*, which is translatable but obviously secondary

gāyatrīm triṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭubham (MS °*tīm virājam*) AV TS MS *gāyatrī triṣṭub jagatī virāṭ* KS This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS MS KS (omitting slight variants) is *arkam* (TS *brhad arkam*) *yuñjānāḥ svar ābharann idam* It appears that KS has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yuñjānāḥ* (tho leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS MS), they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann* The AV varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt, its accs must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda

yuvo ratho adhvaram (AV † GB † °*ro*) *devavītaye* RV AV AB 6 12 7 (add in Comt) GB Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*) 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice ' In AV *adhvaro* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho* 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach ' Ppp is reported to read *adhvaram*

ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA *asādīt*) RV TA *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharmo*

kāmam (AV PB *kamah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*, KS TB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ There seems little doubt that the nom is original, and it is likely that the acc is due to attraction to the case of *samudram* The two accs must be taken as in apposition According to the comm on TA the subject is *dakṣinā* TB has the following explanation of the meaning *samudra iva hi kāmah*, *neva hi kāmasyānto 'sti*, *na samudrasya*

nayanto garbham vanām dhiyam dhuh RV *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV Highly problematical, *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers), *nayantam*, like the other accs in the verse, must be object of *dhāh* In SV the subject is Agni and the accs probably refer to the singer (now singular)

6 Transfer of epithet

§400 A very large number of nom -acc variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet' That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group, but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case, such instances are given separately No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made

§401 The following show no change in number or gender

iyarti dhūmam aruṣam (MS KS °*ṣo*) *bharibhrat* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original, changed in MS KS to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke '

svar devā (TS TB ApŚ *devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §§340, 349 The nom or voc is certainly original, the acc secondary The nom would apply the epithet *devāḥ* to the priests 'we have gone to heaven as gods', the acc , 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods '

ye ca devān (ŚŚ *devā*) *ayajanta* AV ŚŚ The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣiṇā*, AV means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows) In ŚŚ *devāḥ*, if nom , must refer to *maghavānaḥ*, as in the preceding variant It might however be voc (again as in the preceding)

mā no hṛṇītām atithir (SV *hṛṇīthā atithim*) *vasur agniḥ* RV SV Followed by *puruprašasta eṣaḥ* RV 'let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us, much praised is he ' The SV distortion makes *atithi* object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the *yajamāna*?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged It seems to mean 'be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni), Agni is kindly, much praised is he '

didīhi deva devayuḥ (SV °*yum*) RV SV Preceded by *abhi dyumnam bṛhad yaša iṣaspate* In RV *devayuḥ* is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative, in SV it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc with *didīhi*

jaitram indra (KS *jaitrāyano*) *ratham ā tiṣṭha govi* (AV *govidam*) RV SV AV VS TS MS KS Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference But the

rest of the stanza is triṣṭubh, and it is curious that AV turns this pāda into a jagatī by this otherwise harmless alteration One or two mss are quoted by Lanman as reading *govit*, but Ppp (*JAOS* 40 151) supports *govidam*

viprasya vā yac chaśamāna ukthyam (AV °*yaḥ*) RV AV Followed by *vāyam*, with which the adjective agrees in RV , in AV (with the help of the adjoining *śaśamānaḥ*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni)

pari dyukṣam sanad rayim SV *pari dyukṣaḥ sanadrayiḥ* RV In RV both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following pāda , in SV *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith

āreśatrum (TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *āre śatrūn*) *kṛnuhi sarvavīram* (TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ °*vīrah*) AV † TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ In AV the epithet goes with the object (*imam* of the preceding pāda), in the others, with the subject

punar brahmāṇo (*brahmā*) *vasunītha* (°*nītir*, °*dhīte*, °*dhītim*, °*dhītam*) *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*), see §340

ava priyā (AV *priyān*) *adhūṣata* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB If *priyā*(*s*) is really nom , as commonly assumed it must agree with the subject (in RV apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitṛs), *priyān* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers Grassmann takes *priyās* as acc fem , supplying *giras* (Most AV mss read *avā 'priyān*, with wrong accent, see Whitney's note)

ūrdhvo adhvaram divi deveṣu dhehi VS ŚB *ūrdhvam* (VSK °*vo*) *imam* (VSK omits) *adhvaram hotrā yacha* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA

jāmim (KS † *cami*, sec VV 2 §57) *mā hiṃsīr* (AV *mā jāmim moṣīr*) *amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV KS † °*nām*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ The nom agrees with the subject, the acc with the object *jāmim*

svargān (*svargam*, *svagān*) *arvanto* (*arvato*) *jayata* (*jayema*, *jayatah*, *jayati*), see §350

tam akratum (KU °*tuh*) *paśyati vītaśokah* TA MahānU KU ŚvetU

pra yo jajñe vidvān (AV °*vān*) *asya bandhum* (AV *bandhuh*) AV TS KS Followed by *viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvani devo*) *janima vivakti* The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure It is, however, clear that *bandhuh* must be construed with or as the subject of *vivakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vivakti* or object of *vidvān*

urudrapso viśvarūpa indub TS ApŚ *purudasmo viṣurūpa indub* VS ŚB *purudasmavad viśvarūpam indub* KS Followed by *pavamāno* (VS ŚB *antar*) *garbham* (TS *dhīra*, VS ŚB *mahimānam*) *ānañja dhīrah* (TS *garbham*) The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS, with the subject *indub* in the others

samarabhyordhvo adhvaro divispṛśam TS TB *ūrdhvo adhvaro divispṛk* MS KS In the ritual the TS passage (followed by *ahruto yajño yajñapatiḥ*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāram* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB does) 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*), the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed' The reading of MS seems to be a lect fac, *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛk*, assimilated to the preceding noms, applies to *adhvaro* (KS omits *samārabhya*) Keith considers the TS TB reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice

sarasvatī vayati peśo antaram (TB and ms of KS °*rah*) VS MS KS TB Preceded in all by *tad asvinā bhiṣojā rudravartanī* 'The Aśvins and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form' *antaram* agrees with *peśo* But *antarah*, read by the sole ms of KS as well as TB (v Schr emends), is difficult The TB comm seems to have no qualms about making it agree with Sarasvatī (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar? yā tu sarasvaty antarah śarīramadhye*) All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peśo*

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApMB *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG 'I have risen up after the immortals' 'we have risen up immortal' The AV verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject

asmin yajñe suhavām (AV °*vā*) *johavīmi* AV MS KS TS AŚ ŚŚ N Preceded by *kuhūm devīm sukṛtam vidmanāpasam* (with slight variants) AV comm also has *suhavām*, agreeing with *kuhūm*, if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman

prajāpatir yam prathamo jigāya ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB *prajāpatiḥ prathamo 'yam jigāya* AŚ Preceded by *tayānandam kāmam aham jayāni* In AŚ (*a*)*yam* goes with the preceding noms 'this Prajāpati was the first to win (it)' The other, with *yam* referring to *kāmam*, is doubtless original

§402 Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are

viśvāni yo amartyo (havyā marteṣu ranyati) RV *viśve yasminn amartye (havyam martāsa indhate)* SV See §457

tad ayam (MG idam) rājā varuṇo 'numanyatām AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG *ayam* agrees with the subject *rājā* etc , *idam* with the object *tad*

devān achā na majmanā RV *deva indro na majmanā* SV In SV the epithet *deva* is attracted into agreement with the subject

yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS Subject is Mitra and Varuṇa, with which *rājānā* agrees 'ye (MS they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot ' TS transfers it to the object 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot '

agniṣ tad viśvam (AV mss *viśvād*) *ā prṇāti* (AV °*tu*) *vidvān* RV AV TS MS KS With Whitney and SPP *viśvād* (epithet of Agni) must be kept in AV

anāhanasyam vasanam jaraṣnu (ŚG *car*°, PG °*nuh*) ŚG PG HG ApMB See VV 2 §57

anuttaś carṣanīdhṛtiḥ SV *anutta carṣanīdhṛta* RV Preceded by *tvam vṛtrani hansi* (*anutta* with *vṛtrani*, °*tas* with *tvam* = Indra)

ayā san (MS ŚŚ *ayah san*, KS *ayas san*, Kauś *ayāvyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to *havyam*

devatrā yantam avase sakhāyah (KS °*yam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *anu tva mātā pitaro madantu* The original applies *sakhāyah* to *mātā pitaro*, KS transfers it to *tvā* (influenced no doubt by *yantam*)

vapāvantam (MS °*to*) *nāgninā tapantah* TS MS TA Preceded by *añjanti yam prathayanto na viprāh*, MS transfers the epithet from object to subject

prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā AV *avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān* TB In AV *anyā anyā* refers to weaving maidens, in TB it is transferred to the threads

visvani yo amartyah RV *visve yasmin amartye* SV The n acc *visvani* of RV agrees with the following *havyā*, the masc nom *visve* with the following *martāsah*

durvīm (VS *devīm*) *nāvam svaritram anagasam* (AV °*sah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS In AV *ana*° is transferred to the subject of *āruhema*

sā śamtātī (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ *santacī*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ *śamtātī* is epithet of *mayas*, on the other see VV 2 §156

bhūriṣṭhātrām bhūry aveśayantīm (AV °*tah*) RV AV See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above

viśvavidam (AV °*do*) *vācam aviśvamanvām* (AV *aviśvavinnām*) RV AV Discussed by Edgerton, l c 128, the AV is secondary

yavena (AV * *yavena vā*) *kṣudham puruhūta viśvām* (AV * *viśve*) RV AV (quater) The AV once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kṣudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding)

dhīnām antah sabardughah RV *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV In RV the adjective agrees with *vanaspatir* (= Soma), in SV it is attached to the false form *dhenām*

parāśutṛpo abhi śośucānah RV *parāśutṛpah śośucatah śṛṇīhi* AV In RV *śo*° agrees with Agni, subject of preceding *śṛṇīhi*, in AV with the object (*mūradevān*)

dyumantam sam idhīmahi RV SV VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ *dyumantah sam idhīmahi* AV TS MS KS Acc with preceding object *tvā*

gharmam śocantah (AŚ °*ta*, ŚŚ °*tam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ In AB nom with *dhiṣaṇāh* in preceding, in ŚŚ acc with *gharmam* On AŚ cf VV 1 p 165

āmuṁ naya (RV MS *āyuṁ nu yaṁ*) *namasā jātahavyam* (RV † MS † °*yāh*) RV AV MS In RV MS *rā*° goes with nom *pañca janāh* in the following

achidram (SMB °*rāh*) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB may understand voc rather than nom

vande dārum (? see VV 1 p 218) *vandamāno vivakmi* RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tavasas kṛtāni*, in SV *vanda*° is attracted into agreement with *kṛtāni*

vandārus te (VS ŚB °*rus te*, add to VV 2 §958, MS KS °*rum te*) *tanvam* (*tanvam*) *vande agne* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The meaning here shifts with the form, nom 'praising', acc 'praiseworthy' (fem gender, with *tanvam*, tho the masc would have the same form)

akhidrāh (ApŚ *aghorah*, VS ŚB *achinnapatrāh*, MS *achinnapatrah*) *prajā abhivipasya* (VS MS ŚB *anuvīkṣasva*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

viśvāh pṛtanā abhibhūtaram naram (SV PB Svidh *narah*) RV AV SV PB AŚ Vait Svidh Followed in RV AV SV by *sajūs tatakṣur indram jajanuś ca rājase*

ahruto maho dharunāya devān (AV *devah*) RV AV Followed by *divīva jyotih svam ā mimīyāh* (AV † °*yāt*) In AV (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devah* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse)

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °*gaḥ*) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ

ye ceme (TS *cemām*, VS *camam*) *rudrā abhitaḥ* (MS NīlarU *abhito rudrāḥ*) VS TS KS MS NīlarU The nom *ime* goes with *rudrāḥ*, *enam* (= Rudra) or *imām* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhitaḥ*

śukrām vayanty asurāya nirnijam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirnije* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A '

sa naḥ pṛthu (TB °*uḥ*) *śravāyyam* RV SV ŚB TB *pṛthu*, object 'the broad (space) ' In TB transferred to the subject (Agni)

ny adhur mātrāyām (KS *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasaḥ* (KS °*sam*) MS KS In MS *vayo*° goes with *kavayo*, in KS with *agnim* in the following

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV *apo mahī vṛtvī cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV PB *mahī* refers to the subject Uṣas, *mahi* refers to the darkness which she uncovers

sūryam cāmū rišādasaḥ (RVKh °*sam*) AV RVKh ŚŚ (ed of AV *cāmum rišādasam*, but mss as ŚŚ , RVKh Scheftelowitz p 157) The original nom pl agrees with *devāḥ* in the next sentence, RVKh has acc sg with *sūryam* (The form *amū* is probably neut pl of *asau*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 350)

ulokam u dve upa jāmim iyatuḥ RV *lokam u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmī iyatuḥ* MS ApŚ *jāmi* transferred from object to subject

agnim bharantam (MS KS °*tā*) *asmayum* VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *yuñjāthām rāsabham yuvam, usmin yāme vṛṣanvasū* The acc agrees with *rāsabham*, the nom dual with the subject of *yuñjāthām* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna) The mss of MS (s p and p p) read *asmayuḥ*, perhaps they intend *asmayū*, which would be another transfer

tā (TS *te*, VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS °*ye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Only in TS the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, enclitic from *tvam*)

suvīrāḥ prajāḥ prajanayan parīhi TS MS KS TB ApŚ *suvīro vīrān prajanayan parīhy* VS ŚB

varenyakratūr (AV °*tur*) *aham* RVKh AV *īdenyakratūr* (text †*ide*°, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ Scheftelowitz reads °*tur* in RVKh The form °*tūr* is acc pl fem agreeing with the waters, and this is a simpler reading than °*tur* (nom sg masc), going with *aham*

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau (PB *abhisam°*) TS PB TB PG ApMB *dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG The mss of MŚ MG read *dhvāntā* (nom dual, going with the subject in the preceding pāda) *vātāgnim* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless the true reading, cf VV 2 p 402)

ā rasmīn (RV *rasmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svasvah*) RV VS ŚB TB

jyotiṣmatī (MS °*tīh*) *prati muñcate nabhah* TS MS KS PG Followed by *devī rātrī sūryasya vratāni*, or an equivalent In MS *jyo°* (originally epithet of *rātrī*) is made an object of the verb

jīvam (comm *jīvan*) *devebhya uttaram stṛnāmi* AV *devebhyo jīvanta uttaram bharema* TA In TA *jīv°* is epithet of the subject, so *jīvan* if this is intended in AV (then with variation of number only), *jīvam*, if intended, must go with the object *uttaram*

hiranyarūpam (MS KS MŚ °*varnam*) *uṣaso vyuṣṭau* RV MS KS MŚ *hiranyarūpā* (TS TB °*varnāv*) *uṣaso* (TS TB °*sām*) *viroke* VS TS ŚB TB Followed by

ayasthūnam (TS *ayasthūnāv*) *udītā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS In both of these the dual noms agree with the subject, Mitra and Varuna, the accs with the object, *gartam*

ekavinsa rbhavah (VS † °*vi*) *stutam* (VS *stutāh*) VS MS KS TB One of six consecutive and parallel verses in all, the remaining five have (before *stutam* or *stutāh*) *rudrāh pañcadase, vasavas trivṛtā, stome saptadase, trayastrinse 'mṛtam* (°*tā*, VS), *trinave marutah* (TB *ma° tri°*) In VS *stutāh* agrees with the subject, a group of gods that varies in each verse In the others it agrees with the object in pāda d (*havir indre vayo dadhuh*)

hiranyayāh (MS °*yayā*) *sucayo dhārapūtāh* RV MS Preceded by *trī rocanā divyā dhārayanta* In RV *hir°* agrees with the subject, the Ādityas, in MS with the object *rocanā*

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanistha (MS *vīram jajanaj janiṣṭham*) RV VS MS KS TB

urv (AŚ *ūrv* and *urvy*) *antarikṣam vihi* VS MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ The nom must agree with the subject of *vihi*

sa praty ud (MS *sa pratyañ*) *aid dharunam* (TS MS KŚ *dharuno*) *madhvo agram* AV TS MS KS KSA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ Part of a mystic verse, the sense is no better and no worse, whether the adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram* But it may be based on *juhomi te dharunam madhvo agram* RV AV, in a ritualistic connexion, this rather points to the originality of the acc

mahiṣam nah subhvam tasthivāṅsam MS *samudram na subhvah svā abhiṣṭayah* RV *samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhuvas*, TB Poona ed *suhuvam*) *tasthivāṅsam* AV TB ApŚ —Ppp reads like MS but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhuvas*, suggesting *subhuvam* as a better reading, *JAOS* 35 46) Same context in all except RV , the acc agrees with *samudram*, the nom with the subject of the verb in the next pāda Perhaps AV is influenced by recollection of the RV passage (i e shows contamination of two passages)

yajā no (or *yajano*, so Poona ed of TB with MS , see VV 2 p 376) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS TB AŚ ApŚ Nom *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni, acc as object of *yajā* (or *yajáno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers

avīraghno (ApMB † °*nī*) *vīratarah* (HG °*tamah*, AŚ ApŚ ApMB *vīravatah*) *suvīrān* (HG *susevān*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB *vīram hi* (read *avīraghnī°*) *vīravatah suśevā* MG The accs refer to *gṛhān*, the noms to the subject *aham*, which is fem in ApMB MG Presumably the masc *aham* is more original, *vīratarah* would be impossible in ApMB MG Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet But the nom *suśevā* of MG alone is certainly secondary

vi mamarsa rohito visvarūpah TB *vi rohito amṛśad visvarūpam* AV The latter original (*visvarūpam* object)

parīmam rāyo manuṣyam KS *parīmam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS And others, see §§442 etc In KS *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*, 'let wealth invest this man' In TS *rāyas* is gen , and *manuṣyāh* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *daivīr viso* in the preceding, 'human clans'

codad rādha upastutas (ArS °*tam*) *cid arvāk* RV AV ArS MS TB In RV etc the adjective goes with the subject, Indra, in ArS with *rādha*(*s*)

apo devā (TS MS KS ApŚ *devīr*) *madhumatīr agṛbhnan* (TS ApŚ *agṛhnan*, MS KS *agṛbhnām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The acc fem *devīr* is doubtless orig , *devā*(*h*) goes with the subject

ayam (TA *idam*) *devo vanaspatih* AV TA Preceded by *varuno varayātai* (*vārayāt*) TA feels the need of an object, and alters *ayam* to *idam*

ādityā rudrā uparisprso nah (KS °*sam mā*) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparisṛpsam mā* RV VS TS Followed by *ugram cettāram adhirājam akran* (AV *akrata*) The adjective, orig going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV

ād īm aśvam na hetārah (SV °*ram*) RV SV Followed by *aśūśubhann amṛtāya, madhvo* (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* 'As drivers (decorate) a horse', RV in SV *hetāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'

yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuṣā (SV °*ṣam*) RV SV The meaning of RV is doubtful Oldenberg 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days', Geldner 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days' In SV *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man', the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey)

taj jānatīr abhy anūṣata vrāh RV *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣāh* ArS In RV *taj* is object of *jānatīr*, in ArS *tā*(*h*) attracted to agreement with it

indra jaṭharam navyo (SV AŚ ŚŚ °*yam*) *na* AV SV AŚ ŚŚ For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note, in any case the word goes with Indra in AV, with *jaṭharam* in the rest

tvam †*samudram prathamo vi dhārayah* (SV °*drah prathame vidharman*) RV SV Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)' 'du bist das Meer im allerhochsten Trager' (Benfey)

indram juṣānā vṛṣanam (VS *janayo*) *na patnīh* VS MS KS TB Here different words are involved 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives' 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women'

§403 In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term Namely in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section Cf §15

pratnam ni pāti kāvyam RV ('he protects the ancient wisdom') †*pratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyah* KS ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]')

prajāpatim aham tvayā samakṣam rdhyāsam GB Vait *prajāpatir aham tvayā sākṣād rdhyāsam* MŚ 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee' 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee' The latter is original, see Caland on Vait

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV Ppp VS TS MS *achāyani yanti savasā ghṛtācīh* KS See §467

samdhātā samdhim (MS *samdhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (*puro°, puru°*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The nom can only be felt as going with the subject, but the whole verse is very corrupt in MS

girah somah (SV *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāh* RV SV 'The purified soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV 'the purified one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions'

evam tam garbham ā dhehi RVKh MG *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB

asmabhyam indav indrayuh (SV *indriyam*) RV SV The verb is *pavasva*, to which SV supplies an object *indriyam*, *indrayuh* is nom., epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*)

durah ca visvā avrnod apa svāh RV AV *turas cid viśvam †arnavat tapasvān* AV *durah* is object of *avrnod*, *turah* apparently felt as epithet of the subject

samidhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (TB ApŚ *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV † TB ApŚ (RV p.p. *prathamā, anu, dharma*.) The original neut. pls. were misunderstood later and made into noms. sg. masc., epithets of the subject, Agni. Doubtless the adjacent *samidhyamānah* helped. Caland translates ApŚ as if it had the RV reading, tho he has no note

yuṣmāns ca dāyam ma upetā (ŚŚ *dāyam copetām*) AB ŚŚ Followed by *vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi upetā* is nom. sg. of a nomen agentis used as periphrastic future 'he shall obtain you as an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know'. In ŚŚ we have *upetām*, past. pple., attracted into agreement with *vidyām*, in this form there is no verb to govern the accs.

dharṣā (VSK *°ṣān*) *mānuṣah* (KS *°ṣam*, TS ApŚ *°ṣān*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In KS TB ApŚ acc. object of the verb, in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject 'be bold, as a man (VSK let the man be bold)'

tasmai devā amṛtāh (AV *°tam*) *sam vyayantām* (AV *°tu*) AV TS MS KS ApMB In AV *amṛtam* is a noun, object of the verb

7 Neuter acc. adverbs varying with nom. adjectives

§404 In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning

subhūh svayambhūh prathamah (AŚ ŚŚ *°mam*) VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

somah prathamo vivide RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)' '(thou wast) Soma's wife first'

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG *vicaranty apativratā* ŚŚ *yac cacārānanuvratam* (adverb) ApŚ Preceded by *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (or the like)

ava tara (TS *avattaram*, AV *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV *nadīnām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* apparently an adverb, *avattaro* adj agreeing with the subject MS p p has *avataram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS

svasti nah pūrnamukhah pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG We now would render (rather than as in VV 1 §359) 'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG they, with their faces), walk round us' So better than Oldenberg's interpretation of HG , 'walk round our full face' The Sūtra itself renders by *pradakṣinam*

asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś See §623

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *sucih*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *śuci* may be taken as an adverb

visvair devair anumatā (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhih*, see §388 above KS has an adverb

visvak patantu didyavah RV *visvañco asmac charavah patantu* AV

āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvāñ (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvāñ*) RV AV MS TB N

prāñ (VS TB *prāñk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prāñ*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK MS ŚB TB ApŚ

pratyak (p p *pratyañ*) *somo atisrutah* MS *pratyañ* (VS TS MS † ŚB † TB *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS * †10 31b, MS *atisrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ

§405 Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem acc adverb varying with a nom adjective, but the form is very suspicious

dīdāyānidhmo (MS °*mām*) *ghṛtanirnig apsu* RV TS MS '(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling ' If MS is sound it would seem to have an adverb All s p mss agree, curiously the p p reads *dīdāya*, *asme ity asme*

8 Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406 The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome

sakṛd yat tvā (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *garbham*) *āśayat* TS KS Here *garbha* is used in different senses 'embryo' (TS) and 'womb' (KS)

amāsi sarvāñ (AŚ *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ Kauś. *amo 'si sarvāñ asi praviṣṭaḥ* ŚG *amā hy asi sarvam anu praviṣṭaḥ* SMB The original is certainly *sarvāñ* (from *sarvāñc*), the accs are lect fac

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāḥ*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA The latter is plainly corrupt The acc *nṛmanām* (had form in any case) may be felt as a second object, correlative with *snehitīr*, but the interpretation is certainly dubious

sūryasya marīcīḥ TA *sūryo marīcīm ādatte* TA Probably the two are not really related The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of various gods, the latter in a cosmic verse about creation

uldādāya pṛthivīm jīvadānum (TS TB ApŚ *jīradānuḥ*, MS KS *jīradānum*) VS TS MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ The nom is clearly established as the reading of the Tait school, but there is no main verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe Both Keith and Caland think an acc (agreeing with *pṛthivīm*) must be read

kratum dadhikrā (MS °*krām*) *anu saṃtavītvat* (VS MS KS ŚB *saṃsaniṣyadat*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N The context is identical in MS, and only a nom seems construable 'Dadhikrā, showing his strength according to his will' Is the final *m* in MS mere 'Hiatustilger'? Cf VV 2 §308 ff

samānam ajmam (PB †*ayman*) *pary eti* (TA ApŚ *ajmā pari yāti*) *jāgṛvaḥ* RV PB TA ApŚ In RV 'watchful he (Agni) goes about his accustomed course' The nom *ajmā* is apparently felt as an epithet of Agni (TA comm *svargagamanaśīlaḥ*), but is scarcely to be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ) Comm on PB understands *ayman* (for *ajman*) as a loc, but probably misunderstands the intention of its text On *y* for *j* in PB see Caland's translation, xxv The Conc should be corrected for this and †*yunaymi te pṛthivīm agninā saha*, and these interesting variants added to VV 2 §192 Cf also Raghu Vira, *Kapiṣthala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā*, 5, Oertel 28

bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛnvata ṛṣim RV *bṛhaspatir yajñam atanuta ṛṣiḥ* AV The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly with Yama, the introduction of a statement about Bṛhaspati's action is evidently a stupid blunder

yāṅs (TA Poona ed text and comm *yās*) *te soma prāṇāṅs tāṅ* (*tān*, *tāṅ*) *juhomi* TA MahānU Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine ' Comm on MahānU supplies *paśyāmi* as governing the acc The nom *yās* makes construction simpler (*prāṇāns* for *prāṇās* being then attracted to the following *tān*)

sam takṣā hanti cakrī vah (HG *cakrinah*) ApMB HG Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms According to Oldenberg, HG would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

brahmāṇam (TB °*na*) *indram vayodhasam* VS TB After *hotā yakṣad*, only acc seems construable Comm on TB in fact takes *brahmānas* as acc pl (agreeing with *dvāras* preceding)[1]—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak

manyum (AV *manyur*) *viśa īdate mānuṣīr yāh* (TB † *īdate devayantīh*) RV AV MS TB The nom is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes, comm reads *manyum* Yet Ppp has *manyur*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools

purānan (TA °*nā*) *anu venati* RV TA N Comm on TA *puratanān devan* In fact neither a nom pl masc nor a nom or acc pl fem is construable

narāśaṁsena nagnahum (KS TB °*huh*) VS MS KS TB The form must be acc in all Von Schroeder emends KS to °*hum*, TB comm keeps the form °*huh* but regards it as acc neut

parīdam vajy ajınam (PG °*dam vājınam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajınam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB Haplology in PG (VV 2 p 362), *vājınam* not construable

bahuprajā nirṛtim (AV °*tir*) *ā viveśa* RV AV N Whitney assumes an acc in AV , but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible This might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV has made *nirṛti-* agree with *bahuprajā*

ā viveśāparajitam (TA °*tā*) AV TA Only the acc can be construed, so comm on TA interprets the form, tho he reads °*ta* like both editions

tilvilāstam ırāvatīm AG † *tilvilā syād ırāvatī* ApMB , and others, always with nom Stenzler (*note* in transl of AG p 83) regards the acc ending as certainly erroneous

§407 In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all

sindhum (MahānU v 1 *sindhur*) *na nāvā duritāti parṣi* RV MS TB TA MahānU The v l is worthless, no nom could be construed

havyam pārāvatebhyah AV ŚŚ So mss of AV , R-Wh emend wrongly to *havyah*

pūṣanvān karambham MS KS AB *karambhah* is read by Von Schroeder in MS by emendation, and the Conc quotes KS as °*bhah*, erroneously All texts should read °*bham*

śimāh kṛnvantu śimyantah TS KSA Conc quotes *simām* for KSA , this is a false reading of one ms , rejected in the ed

tān sma mānuvaṣatkṛthāh AŚ *ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāh* Vait But all mss of Vait read *ca tāmtsamānuvaṣaṭkṛtā*(*h*), with Caland we should probably assume that they intend the AŚ reading

tṛptām juhur mātulasyeva yoṣā RVKh † N † Conc reads *tṛptā* for RVKh , with Aufrecht, but see Scheftelowitz, p 87

vāyavyah śvetah pucche VS MS *vāyavyam svetam* ApŚ The latter should be deleted in the Conc , it is no mantra but the beginning of a Brāhmana passage, TS 2 1 1 1

īṣamāna (ŚŚ °*nā*) *upaspṛṣah* AV ŚŚ Read in AV as in ŚŚ (with mss , SPP , Whitney's Index, and see Bloomfield's note on 20. 127 2)

CHAPTER XV

NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1 Instr of means or agent and subject nom

§408 The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in

ya īm vahanta āśubhiḥ RV *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV 'Whoso travel by horses' 'when the horses carry (him)'

manyur akārṣīn manyuḥ karoti TAA *manyunā kṛtam manyuḥ karoti* BDh

§409 It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary, once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent

na karmanā lipyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh *na karma lipyate nare* VS IśāU 'He is not stained by evil action' 'action does not stick to (stain) a man'

§410 A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc of direct object, but becomes nom as subject of a passive verb

antar dadhe parvataiḥ HG ApMB *antarhitā girayaḥ* ŚG 'I interpose with mountains' 'mountains are interposed'—In same context *antar mahyā pṛthivyā* HG † ApMB †, *antar dadha ṛtubhiḥ, ahorātraiś ca saṃdhibhiḥ* (HG °*traiḥ susaṃdhibhiḥ*), *ardhamāsaiś ca māsaiś ca*—all HG ApMB *antarhitā pṛthivī mahī me, antarhitā ma ṛtavaḥ, ahorātrāś ca saṃdhiyāḥ, māsās cārdhamāsāś ca*, all ŚG

§411 More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so' In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities

are so common, such a shift is particularly easy, it would indeed not be difficult anywhere It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction (*βίη Ἡρακληείη*) But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants, the first example is perhaps the only one —Instead of the subject nom , the voc of direct address is also found varying with the instr in the same way, §354

pra te divo na stanayanti suṣmāh (MS °*yanta suṣmaih*) RV TS MS 'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven'. 'they (sc *girah*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven'

abhi stomair (RV * SV * *stomā*) *anūṣata* RV SV (both in each) AV VS 'Songs of praise shouted to thee'. 'they shouted to thee with songs of praise'

vājasya nā prasavena (VS ŚB °*vah*) VS TS KS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ Followed by *udgrābhenod agrābhīt* (*ajīgrabham*, etc) 'He has (I have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exaltation' 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation'

tam tvābhih suṣṭutibhir vājayantah RV *tam tvā girah susṭutayo vājayanti* SV 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises' 'songs of fair praise strengthen thee'

punantu manavo (RV *vasavo*, VS KS *manasā*) *dhiyā* (VS KS *dhiyah*) RV AV VS MS KS TB 'Let men (Vasus) purify with prayer' 'let prayers purify with mind' The change of *manavo* to *manasā* introduces a different word, but it is to be noted that it replaces the instr *dhiyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction of the sentence

abhi yo mahinā divam RV AŚ *abhīmam* (TS MŚ † °*mām*, MS MŚ v l °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS °*mā*, delete MŚ v l in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ Followed by *mitro* (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty', VS substitutes *vipro* for *mitro* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into *mahimā*, nom 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has '

kṣatram agne (AV *kṣatrenāgne*) *suyamam astu tubhyam* AV VS TS MS KS In AV neither the pāda itself nor the context furnishes a subject for *astu* Apparently indefinite subject. 'by dominion, Agni, let it be of easy control for thee' The other reading is supported by Ppp and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps to be suspected of secondariness 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy control for thee'

śukro bṛhan dakṣinayā (TB *bṛhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pipartu* AV TB 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee' 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm, the *sāman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee' On this use of root *pṛ* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408 ff (esp 409)

2 Associative instr and (collateral) subject or predicate nom

§412 An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case So we find such instr forms attached to a subject or predicate nom, varying with a nom as collateral subject or predicate For the same variation with other cases than the nom see §§55–7 With the nom this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr, expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like Such words occur in most of the following variants

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB °*śīr*, MG °*sam*) *aguḥ* (with varr) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG Preceded by *a vatso jagatā saha* Ppp reads *ā dadhnaṣ kalaśas ca yaḥ* The ApMB substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp supports it in sense by reading a nom (Note, however, that the fem stem *kalaśi* is post-Vedic) 'They have come with pots of sour milk' '(they and) pots of sour milk have come' Knauer prints MG as *kalasam airayam*, but the mss are clearly corrupt, the syllable *air* must conceal the true cascending of *kalaśa* Read *kalasair ayam*, as in Kāṭhaka G (see Caland's ed and note on this) In the same context

emām parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ AV *enam parisrutaḥ kumbhyā* ŚG *a tvā parisrutaḥ* (°*srutaḥ*, °*sṛtaḥ*, *hiranmayaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB † °*aḥ*) AG PG MG ApMB HG

yaśasā (ArS *yaso*) *mā dyavāpṛthivī* ArS PG MG The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from pāda c *yaśo bhagas ca mā vidat* (MG *riṣat*) PG MG, *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS ('let glory of fortune find [me]', so correct rendering in VV 2 p 98) —So, in same stanza, between these two pādas

yaśasendrābṛhaspatī PG MG *yaso mendrābṛhaspatī* ArS Cf prec 'With glory let find (come to) me' However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs, supplying a 2d person verb 'with glory (come) to me, O ' (So Oldenberg on PG)

yavā (MS *yavair*) *na barhir bhruvo kesarāni* VS MS KS TB 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley)'

samā bhavantūdvato (TS °*vatā*) *nipādāḥ* RV TS KS 'The heights and depths shall be equal' 'the depths shall be equal with the heights' *teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti* RV VS TS MS N *sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter, it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section

satyā eṣām (AG *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB HG *santu kāmaḥ*, SMB Jorgensen *santu kāmāḥ*, v l *kāmāt*, AG *santu sarvāḥ*, VS *samnamantām*) VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG 'Let their prayers, their desires, come true' 'let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires? cf the v l *kāmāt*) come true'

ādityas (ApMB °*yaiḥ*) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG ApMB Preceded by *indro marudbhir ṛtubhā* (HG *iha te*) *kṛnotu* (HG *dadhātu*) 'Indra with the Maruts , Āditya with the Vasus' 'Indra with the Maruts with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'

sam revatīr jagatībhiḥ pṛcyantām VS ŚB ŚŚ *sam revatīr jagatībhir* (VSK °*bhiḥ sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ sṛjyaṅhvam* (VSK *pṛcyantām*) TS VSK TB *sam revatīr jagatīḥ* MS The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (*śivāḥ śivābhiḥ sam asṛkṣatāpaḥ*), and the original instr which was paired with *revatīr* is made into a supplementary subject

tan mṛtyunā nirṛtiḥ samvidānā AV *tan mṛtyur nirṛtyā samvidānaḥ* TB Here nom and instr change places, without real change of meaning 'Destruction in unison with death' 'death in unison with destruction'

tām viśvair devair (KS *viśve devā*) *ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ* (KS °*nāḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed by *prajāpatir viśvakarmā vimuñcatu* (ApŚ *yunaktu*) KS turns the original complementary instr (dependent on *samvidānaḥ*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda

śukraḥ śukraśociṣā VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS 'The bright with the bright-shining one' 'the two bright, bright-shining ones'

tayor (TS TB *tasyām*, MŚ *yasyām*, v l *asyām*) *devā adhisamvasantaḥ* (MŚ *abhisamviśantaḥ*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *tasyām devaiḥ samvasanto mahitvā* AV In AV the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °*yadhvam* 'The gods, dwelling together ' 'may we, dwelling together with the gods '

parīmam yajamānam manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣena prajayā ca vyayantām

MS *parīmam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāḥ* TS The associative instr is pointed with *saha* See §§402 etc

indraghoṣas (MS KS °*ṣāḥ*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavaḥ pu*° *pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA Followed by the next two, q v

manojavās tvā pitṛbhir (KS *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS KS ŚB *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS *manojavaso vaḥ pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA See next

pracetās tvā rudraiḥ paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB . *rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ paścāt pāntu* MS . *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*viśvakarmā tvādityair*) in which all texts have the instr When a nom is substituted for the instr (as twice in KS and twice in MS) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (*indraghoṣās* etc) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective

3 Instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr) and nom of bahuvrīhis

§413 Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject The instr seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr of means In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one Sometimes the instr occurs in separate, uncompounded forms

aśvānām sadhastuti (TB °*tiḥ*) RV TB The verse reads *ye me pañcāśatam dadur, aśv*° *sadh*°, *dyumad agne mahi śravo, bṛhat kṛdhi maghonām, nṛvad amṛta nṝnām* 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB having joint praise), make great the fame' etc

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS °*tyā*, TS °*tīr*, MS °*tī*) *vām iyānā* (TS MS KS *vāvṛdhānā*, AV °*nau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ If MS intends nom dual, its variation with AV KS is like the foregoing 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise' But *suṣṭutī* may be taken also as instr TS makes the form acc pl depending on the pple , and AŚ ŚŚ are hopelesly corrupt

tam tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā (ApMB °*dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG The following verb is *anu jayantām* AV . 'after

thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born ' ApMB 'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good ' Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *suvṛdhā* were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle, but the order seems against this

prāṇo agniḥ paramātmā pañcavāyubhir āvṛtaḥ PrānāgU *prāṇo 'gniḥ paramātmā vai pañcavāyuḥ samāśritaḥ* MU 'The Paramātman is surrounded by the five breaths' ' has entered in with (or, perhaps, as) the five breaths ' Here the psychology is a little different, the instr seems clearly one of means

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV *vi yo rajāṃsy amimīta sukratuḥ* RV Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in the karmadhāraya

tripād ūrdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ RV ArS VS TA *tribhiḥ padbhir dyām arohat* AV Here two separate words are used instead of the karmadhāraya compound

4 Nom and instr of part dedicated in offering

§414 In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts of the horse's body to various deities in the Aśvamedha, we find a number of times variation between instr of the part dedicated (and acc of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' understood), and on the other hand nom of the part dedicated and gen or dat of the deity (with copula 'understood') Cf §126 on the various types of dedicatory formulas We shall not record a complete list here, others will be found in the same vicinity

pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhunā VS MS ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the *van°*') *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuḥ* TS KSA ('the *van°* is for Pūṣan') -Similarly *andhāhīn* (°*he*, °*heḥ*) *sthūlagudayā* (*sthūra°*, °*gudā*), and others, same texts

5 Transfer of epithet

§415 As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between nom and instr is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or thing to another In most cases there is a variation in number or gender as well as case, we quote first those in which case alone varies

svāveśayā (VS ŚB °*veśā*) *tanvā saṃviśasva* VS MS KS ŚB In VS ŚB the adjective, if as we believe (cf §174) it is nom , agrees with the subject (*iṣṭakā*), in MS KS with *tanvā*

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV VS TB *prātaryāvabhir adhvare* SV Pre-

ceded by *śrudhi śrutkarna vahnibhir, devair agne sayāvabhih, ā sīdantu* (SV *sīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* In the original *prātar°* agrees with the subject, in SV it becomes an associative instr attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumentals in the preceding

anuttaś carṣanīdhṛtih SV *anuttā carṣanīdhṛtā* RV In RV *carṣanīdhṛtā* is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf Oldenberg, *Noten*, 1 p 162, n 1), in SV it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra)

§416 In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case

paro devebhir (MS *°bhyo*) *asurair* (MS *°ram*) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhā yat*) RV TS MS KS Preceded by *paro divā para enā pṛthivyā*, except in MS which has *paro divah para enā pṛthivyāh* (abls for instrs), MS makes *devebhir* over into *devebhyo* in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit *asurebhyo*, it transfers this word to the subject *yad*

ghnanto (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāṇy aprati* AV MS KS TS ApŚ Nom goes with subject *vayam*, instr with associative *indrena*

indrena sayujo (AV *°jā*) *vayam* AV TS ApŚ 'We allied with Indra' 'we with Indra as ally '

indrena devīr (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah samvidānāh* TS MŚ

ta ā vahanti (MS *tayā vahante* [so p p]) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS TB *tad āharanti kavayah purastāt* KS In MS *tayā* by attraction to preceding *svadhayā*, cf VV 2 §342

udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭibhir (PG *°bhṛṣṭir*) *indro marudbhir asthāt* SMB PG GG

śuddha (SV *śuddhair*) *āśīrvān mamattu* RV SV Preceded by *śuddhair ukthair vāvṛdhvānsam*, to these instr forms the SV has assimilated *śuddha(h)* of RV

aganma mahā (KS *maho*) *namasā yaviṣṭham* RV SV MS KS AB KB TB ApŚ AŚ ŚŚ 'We have come with mighty homage (KS mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni) ' KS apparently understands a nom pl with its *mahó*

abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā śuśukvanih RV *dṛśe* (MS *dṛśā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā śuśukvanih* (KS *°vabhih*, MS *śuśukmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In MS *su°* is made an epithet of *bhāsā* In KS too the epithet no longer agrees with the subject (Agni) It is perhaps made coordinate with *bhāsā*, or possibly it is meant to agree with *suśastibhih* in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem)

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayā sant* (MS *ayāḥ san*, KS *ayās san*, ms *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS *kṛttaḥ*, p p and KS *kṛtaḥ*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG Followed by

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāḥ san*, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ In the first of these two pādas, the instrs are transferred to *manasā* from agreement with the subject (Agni), in the second they are attracted to the like construction by the preceding *ayasā*

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānaḥ VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV The AV version is corrupt, by a false verse division *uru°* (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvārah*) is transferred to *dhāmnā* Ppp agrees with the others

pāvakayā yas (TS *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The nom in TS is really due to phonetic alteration, cf Oldenberg, *Prol* 453, and VV 2 §343 But it is construable in agreement with the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruce*

samjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV AV SV N *samjagmānā abibhyuṣīḥ* (MS *avihrutāh*) AV MS The instr goes with a preceding *indrena*, the nom with the *gāvah* who are addressed But the contexts are quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably unrelated We take it that AV has a contamination of the MS pāda with that of RV etc

§417 The following cases are also classed as 'transfers of epithet' as explained in §§15–6 They show in one form a true 'epithet', in the other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not properly an epithet of anything but independently construed

acittibhiś cakṛmā yac cid āgaḥ RV MS KS *avidvānsaś cakṛmā kac canāgaḥ* TS

apa druhā (AV *druhus*) *tanvam gūhamānā* RV AV The instr of manner, virtually an adverb, of RV becomes in AV an epithet of the subject, a she-demon

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB *dhṛṣatā*) *marutvaḥ* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV In TB the orig nom epithet becomes an adverbial instr of a different but related stem

indrādhipatiḥ (MS KS *°patyaiḥ*) *piprtād ato naḥ* TS MS KS AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship) '

vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ TA *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu* AV The TA reading seems to be intended by Ppp (Whitney on 6 119 3) 'May V with purifiers (V the purifier) purify us (me) '

yena prajā (MS *ya imāḥ prajā*) *viśvakarmā jajāna* (TS *vyānaṭ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In MS *yaḥ* goes with *viśvakarmā* The original 'by which V produced creatures '

yenaiṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU MundU *bhūtaiṣ tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA MahānU MundU (2 1 9) Deussen reads *bhūtas* in MahānU but observes that a v l has *bhūtaiṣ* and that this is a better reading The nom is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā* See also Deussen's note on the MundU passage

tenā (TS *sā*) *no yajñam pipṛhi viśvavāre* AV TS Nom is secondary

candro (SV *candraiṣ*) *yāti sabhām upa* RV SV Preceded by *śvātrabhājā vayasā sacate sadā* Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom is changed into an associative instr The 'shining ones' are somadrops according to Benfey

priyaḥ kavīnām matī (SV *matiḥ*) RV SV In RV *matī* is instr 'by the hymn of the seers ' In SV it is anomalously made into an epithet of *indu*

sūyavasiṇī manuṣe (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA *daśasye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The original *daśasyā* is instr of stem *daśasyā*, 'benevolently' TA 's *daśasye* seems, like *yasasye*, to be dual nom fem agreeing with the subject

6 Nom of independent sentence and instr

§418 Twice a dependent instr of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom , which is however resumed by a pronominal instr in the same construction as the nominal instr of the variant form See §33

gavā te krīnāni TS ApŚ *iyam gaus tayā te krīnāni* MŚ 'With a cow let me buy of thee' 'here is a cow, with her '

etat te rudrāvasam tena (VSK † *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tīhi* VS VSK ŚB 'This is thy food, O Rudra, with it depart ' 'with this food, O Rudra, depart '

7 Miscellaneous

§419. The remaining nom -instr variants are scarcely classifiable They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV MS † *sūriḥ*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāḥ*) RV AV

VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU In RV VS ŚB *pathyā* may be taken as nom , with Grassmann and Oldenberg 'as the path of the *sūri*' In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr . 'like the lord on his path' Cf §284

ganair mā mā vi tīrṣata MS *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB *ganān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ* (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ See §§350, 459

jajñānam (SV °*nah*) *sapta māturah* (SV *mātṛbhih*) RV SV Followed by *vedhām aśāsata* (SV *medhām āśā*°) *śriye* 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune' 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune '

yajñam hinvanty adribhih RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV Preceded by *tam durosam abhī narah, somam visvācyā dhiyā* In RV *narah* is subject of *hinvanty* and *somam* its object In SV it seems that *narah* must be taken with Benfey as voc , with no verb expressed, and that pāda c must be completely detached from the preceding

tan nau samvananam krtam MG *tena samvanmau svake* HG 'That concord has been made for us' 'thereby we are concordant '

tayā devāh sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA TB *sā no asmin sutā ā babhūva* VS MS 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation' 'it is present for us at this libation ' See Keith on TS 4 1 2 1, n 6

prthivīm bhasmanāpṛna (MS KS *bhasma*) *svāhā* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes ' In MS KS sc *gachatu* 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth '

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ

mandūkyā su sam gamah (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV (corrupt)

āptam manah TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ *āpāma manasā* VS ŚB 'Mind has been obtained' 'may we obtain by mind' Ritualistic rigmarole

ārohātmātmānam (MŚ *ārohātmanātmānam*) *achā* TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self ' TB Bibl Ind reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm , Poona ed like the others

mūrā (SV *mūrair*) *amūram purām darmānam* RV SV Benfey 'den durch Thoren unbethorten' Obscure

tam devās sam acīklpan KS *tām devaih sam ajīgamam* TS The sense is radically altered 'Him the gods have fashioned' 'her I have united with the gods ' Both preceded by *aṅgāny ahrutā yasya* (TS *yasyai*)

sam indro viśvadevebhir aṅktām VS ŚB *sam indrena viśvebhir devebhir aṅktām* TB ApŚ In the latter the barhis is the subject

sam aryamā sam bhayo no nināyāt RV ApMB *sam bhagena sam aryamnā* (followed by *sam dhātā srjatu varcasā*) AV See Whitney on AV 14 1 34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *aryamnā* as parallel with *varcasā*

kālena bhūtam bhavyam ca AV *kāle ha bhūtam bhavyam ca* AV vulgate, but by emend for *kālo* of most mss , kept by SPP *kālena* of the other form is also an emendation for *kāle ha*, which SPP keeps This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp (*JAOS* 46 37f) In the other, while the loc would be possible, there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom form, which is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney The contexts are different tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'

[*krāna* (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kalašān avīvasat* (SV AV *acikradat*) RV SV AV *krānā* is problematic, Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr , see *RVRep* 136 for a different view In SV we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation, in AV an attempt at rationalization of SV , which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly]

CHAPTER XVI

NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

1 Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420 Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in

mandrā dhanasya sātaye (KS °*yah*) TS MS KS TB KŚ MŚ ŚG Waters are referred to 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth' 'fair winnings of wealth' All mss of KS agree on the form

pade-pade pāsinah santi setavah (AV °*ve*) RV AV KS ApŚ 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)'

agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavah RV *agner akṛnvann uśijo amṛtyave* MS *devā akṛnvann uśijo amartyave* ApŚ In RV *amṛtyavah* is adj, 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject, in MS a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing ApŚ doubtless intends the same meaning as MS, cf VV 2 §650

prajāvatīr (MŚ °*varīr*, v l °*vatīr*) *yasaso* (MŚ °*se*) *viśvarūpāh* TB ApŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ *yasaso* is adjective '(here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance' In MŚ *yasase* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown', the ultimate meaning is substantially the same

ājyam uktham avyathāyai (TS *avyathayat*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS °*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Comm on TS *tvām avyathayad vyathārahitam kurvat*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts —The same with *praugam uktham*, *marutvatīyam u*°, *niskevalyam u*°, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*

aso yathā no 'vitā vṛdhe ca (SV *vṛdhaś cit*) RV SV 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV In SV the dat of purpose becomes a noun of a nomen agentis, being assimilated to *avitā* ' and (mayst be our) increaser'

ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmani AV *ayam sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Comm

on SV takes *dṛśah* as nom (= *draṣṭā*), 'seer' or 'eye' If this be accepted the variant would belong here, *dṛśe* is a dat (infinitive) But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ (perhaps abl -gen in form?)

sajātānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV *madhyameṣṭhāh*, MS KS *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV VS TS MS KS *sajātānām madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV

§421 Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to

tava praśastayo mahīh (SV *praśastaye mahe*) RV SV Preceded by *tam tvā madāya ghṛṣvaye, u lokakṛtnum īmahe* In RV our pāda is an independent statement 'great are thy praisings' In SV it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a 'unto great praising of thee'

rāyaspoṣā (MŚ °*poṣāya*) *yajamānam viśantu* KS ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *imām devā ajuṣanta viśve* 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer' In MŚ the subject *devāh* of the preceding clause holds over 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS ApŚ, it is thru them that the desired result is expected Cf *rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms of MŚ also reads *rāyaspoṣāya* Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412

ā yāhīma indavah RV AŚ *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV may not be quite properly described as one of purpose 'Come! Here are the soma-drops' 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma'

§422 We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom, subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf Delbruck, *AIS* 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative)

mayah patibhyo janayah (AV °*ye*) *parisvaje* RV AV ApMB 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace' 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife'

§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause)

brahmadviṣe (RV also °*dviṣah*) *śarave hantavā u* RV (both) AV The nom form is preceded by *tapurmūrdhā tapatu rakṣaso ye* 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them)' See *RVRep* on 10 125 6

2 Dative varies with nom of secondary adjective in dedications

§424 In dedicatory expressions (cf §126), the deity may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective, these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose

kapota (MS °*tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TA KSA *nairṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA 'These are for Nirṛti (Nirṛti's)'

vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām payah MS *vāyosāvitra āgo*° *caruh* TS KSA P p of TS *vāyosāvitrah* On the formation see VV 2 §716

ātir (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA

3 Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425 Like other cases (cf §§32 8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa

tasmā etam bharata tadvasāya (and, *tadvaso dadih*) RV (both) 'Bring this to him who desires it' 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous'

§426 Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause

agnincitrebhyo devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhā VS ŚB *ye devā agnicitrāh purahsadas tebhyah svāhā* VS ŚB *ye devāh purahsado agnicitrā* (KS *'gni*°) *rakṣohanas tebhyah svāhā* MS KS *ye devāh purahsado 'gnicitrā tebhyo namas tebhyah svāhā* TS Others similar (VS 9 35–6, MS 2 6 3, KS 15 2)

namo vah pitaro ghorāya (VSK adds *manyave*) VS VSK TS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG *namo vah pitaro yad ghoram tasmai* AV MS And, in same passage *namo vah pitaro jīvāya* VS TS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG *namo vah pitaro yaj jīvam tasmai* VSK MS Note the difference in phraseology in VSK

4 Phrase inflection

§427 There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom and dat , in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2)

patir (VS ŚB *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanah* RV SV VS KS ŚB Followed in RV SV KS by *vy akhyad rodasī ubhe*, in VS ŚB by *juhomi viśvakarmane*

sahasrākṣāyāmartya AV *sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛnmah*, and *anyatrāsman ny ucyatu*

prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavah AV *prācyai tvā dise gnaye 'dhipataye 'sitāya rakṣitra ādityāyeṣumate* AV The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc , the second by *etam pari dadmah* Similar variants in the five following verses, see Conc under *dakṣināyai tvā* , *pratīcyai tvā* , *udīcyai tvā* , *dhruvāyai tvā* , *ūrdhvāyai tvā*

janāya vṛktabarhiṣe RV *janāso vṛktabarhiṣah* RV Different contexts

stotāra indra girvanah RV SV *stotṛbhya indra girvanah* RV The nom is preceded by *vayam ghā te api ṣmasi*, the dat by *yad ditsasi stuto magham*

5 Transfer of epithet

§428 The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14) We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet' In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun Cf §15

tasmā u brahmanas patih RV KS *ayam ca brahmanas patih* AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ Preceded by *tasmai somo* (*devā*) *adhi bravat* (*bruvan*) The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god 'And him (may) Brahmanaspati (bless)' 'and (may) B here (bless him) '

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS °*patih*, KB ŚŚ °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco* (*vāce*) *bhūyāsam* 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech' in MS , 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech '

ıyam te rān mitrāya (KS *mitro*) *yantāsı †yamanah* VS KS ŚB 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS , a guiding friendly controller) ' We suspect that KS is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following noms

pitarah pitāmahāh pare 'vare (KS *'varebhyas*) *te nah pāntu* (MS omits *te nah p°*) *te no 'vantu* TS MS KS 'Let the fathers the earlier and the later, guard us ' In KS *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us ' Note however that we should expect an acc agreeing with the following *nah*

§429 Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are

suprāvye (AV °*vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV AV Preceded by *aham dadhāmi dravinam* (AV °*nā*) *havişmate* RV makes *su°* go with *yaja° sunvate* 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma ' Whitney adopts the RV reading following the AV comm and one ms , but notes that AVPr 4 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāvyā* It may be taken either as acc pl neut with *dravnā*, or better as nom sg fem with the subject In any case it must be derived not from the stem *supravi* but from its equivalent *supravyā* (RV)

ūrnamradā yuvatir (AV °*mradāh pṛthivī*) *dakşināvate* (TA °*vatī*) RV AV TA 'The maiden (earth, this is what RV TA also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakşinā*', in TA the epithet 'possessed of *dakşinā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous'

vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī (ArS °*sı*) *sucih* RV ArS In ArS the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *vaiśvā°*

te asmā (KS *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ and v l of MS °*yo*) *dravnam* (KS °*nāni*) *dattvā* MS KS ApŚ 'They, giving wealth to this Agni' 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer) ' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned, hence the secondary *agnayo* by attraction

nābhā samdāyi navyasī (SV °*dāya navyase*) RV SV Preceded by *yad dha krānā vivasvati* (SV °*te*) In RV *navyasī* agrees with the subject of *samdāyi* (Oldenberg understands *nābhih*), in SV with *vivasvate* The stanza is somewhat problematic in both

§430 Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following, in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective) Cf §15

āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam RV *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS See under *kṣayadvīra* (TS °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* (which follows this), §359 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV) In TS the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra)

rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS ŚŚ 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth' 'let her grant to the wise' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dāśuṣe* of the preceding pāda (in Ppp and all others but not in AVŚ, which has a quite different pāda c)

rātrī (KS v l *rātrih*, TB *rātrī*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB The epithet (in RV referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night

6 Miscellaneous

§431 The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable

ādityās (MS °*yebhyas*) *tvā prabṛhantu* (MS *pravṛhāmi*) *jāgatena chandasā* TS MS 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth' 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas'

yathainam jarase nayāt AV . *athainam jarimā nayet* HG The latter is evidently poor, perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim ānayet*, as if involving a stem **jari*? Note lingual *n* in *nayet*!

iyam (AV MS *yā*) *teṣām avayā durṣṭyai* (AV MS *duriṣṭih*) AV TS MS Followed by *sviṣṭim nas tām* (AV wrongly *tān*) *kṛnotu* (AV *kṛṇavad*) *viśvakarmā* (MS *vi*° *kṛnotu*) Ppp has *yā duriṣṭā*, *sviṣṭam tad vi*° *kṛ*° TS 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it for us a perfect sacrifice' AV MS could apparently only mean 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it' This does not fit the requirements, it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption Whitney emends to *duriṣṭeh* Ppp *duriṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc of *duriṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice', conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom sg fem of *duriṣṭá*) led to the further change to *duriṣṭih*

yathā pṛthivyām agnaye samanamann evā mahyam samnamah sam namantu AV *yathāgnih pṛthivyā samanamad evam mahyam bhadrāh samnatayah samnamantu* TS KS † 5 20 And others in the same passage

vāk patamgāya dhīyate (TS *śiśriye*, MS *hūyate*) RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS ŚB *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS *°gā aśiśrayuh*) AV KS The verse is desperately obscure, we can contribute nothing to its elucidation

eka eva rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah N *eka eva rudro* (ŚvetU *eko hi ru°*, ŚirasU *eko ru°*) *na dvitīyāya tasthe* (ŚvetU *tasthuh*, ŚirasU *tasmai*, but Poona ed with comm *tasthau*) TS ApŚ ŚvetU ŚirasU In N 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent', in the others, 'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate ('stand for', Hume) a second' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359

[*kanyakumāryai* (TA *°mārī*, Poona ed *°mārai*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU See §361]

[*jyeṣṭhāya* (ŚŚ *jyeṣṭho*) *yad apracetāh* AV ŚŚ But AV mss *jyeṣṭho*]

CHAPTER XVII

NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

A *Nominative and ablative*

1 Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive active)

§432 Variations between these two cases are few and scattering Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf §40)

ayam vai tvām ajanayad ŚŚ *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā* JB AG Kauś *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si* VS ŚB TA KŚ Karmap 'He has begotten thee' 'thou wast produced from him'

2 Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433 The variants found here belong to §§32–8 In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl , cf §32, end This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom correlative with the subject of *chumbhantu*, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant Cf §§450, 669

(*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agnih samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkusukaś ca yah*) AV Ppp (*śīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV Ppp 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S'

viṣṇo (*viṣṇoh, viṣṇos*) *sthānam asi* (MS MŚ *sthāmāsi*, KS *sthāmnah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ In KS construed with the following, *ita indro vīryam akṛnot* According to ApŚ also the two are connected in sense, see Keith, *HOS* 18 p 14 n 2

3 Phrase inflection

§434 We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf §§21–2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun

pāpebhyaś ca pratigrahaḥ (RVKh °*hāt*) RVKh TA MahānU BDh

The contexts are different tho similar

4 Transfer of epithet

§435 This occurs a few times, in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case

pra skannāj (KS *skannam*, v l °*nāñ*) *jāyatām havir* KS KŚ ApŚ

Probably the abl is original 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground)' If KS really intends a nom, it would agree with *havir* 'let the oblation that has fallen be born'

ud asya śuṣmād bhānur nārta (MS *bhānor nāvyāḥ*) RV MS TA ApŚ

In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb In MS it seems to apply to *suṣmād* (Understand doubtless *na avyāḥ*, despite p p which does not divide)

pāpāt (KŚ *pāpaḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ °*nād*) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ °*yai*) AV KŚ

Preceded by *paryāvarte duḥṣvapnyāt* In KŚ *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ (*pṛthivyai devayajanyai*) TS ApŚ

(both in each) The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *araru* to *pṛthivī*, or vice versa

§436 In another case the original, and perhaps only correct form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject Cf §15

parāmṛtāḥ (TA °*mṛtāt*) *parimucyanti sarve* TA MahānU MundU KaivU

The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU, and by the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayaḥ*) in KaivU Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as *prakṛti*, 'material nature' If the nom is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense '(so as to be) immortal'

5 Miscellaneous

§437 The rest are unclassifiable, some are under suspicion of corruption

adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ (TA ApŚ *sambhūtaḥ*) *pṛthivyai* (KS † MS °*vyā*)

rasāc ca (KS *rasaḥ*) VS KS MS TA ApŚ Followed by *viśvakarmanaḥ samavartatādhi* (VS °*tāgre*) Comm on VS supplies *yo rasaḥ* as subject, the KS reading is doubtless secondary (certainly unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like understanding of the passage In fact, however, the original subject must have been the puruṣa, understood from the original context

gārhapatyaḥ (ŚŚ °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamaḥ* VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *ayam agnir gṛhapatiḥ* Original 'he, Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to our offspring' ŚŚ seems to mean 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our offspring' This is barely intelligible

madhu retaḥ (KS *madhur ataḥ*, TS *madhor ataḥ*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS MS KS AŚ KS has the simplest and, in this case, probably the original reading 'let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring months) protect me' TS 'let Mādhava protect us after (or, from) Madhu' MS AŚ seem likely to contain a corruption, MS p p *madhuḥ, amtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS reading As it stands the reading may be rendered 'let the sweet seed and Mādhava protect us', or 'let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us' Either is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages

nakṣatrāṇām sakāśān mā yauṣam MS *nakṣatrāṇām mā samkāśaś ca pratīkāśaś cāvatām* Vait Kauś 'May I not be cut off from the presence of the nakṣatras' 'may the presence and the gleam of the nakṣatras aid me'

satyā tā dharmanas patī ApŚ *satyād ā* (*satyādā*?) *dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas* [but MŚ mss *dharmanā*] *parī*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ See VV 2 §65

apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā †*devayajanāj* (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ Caland would read *adevayajanāñ* (acc pl masc) in both We too find ApŚ uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can scarcely fit the subject of *jahi* But KS could mean 'Smite away Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the sacrifice to the gods' Caland, like the Conc, misquotes KS as *adevayajanāj*

mṛtyur (!) *me pāhi* TAA *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS MS KS TB AŚ Comm on TAA says that *mṛtyur* is for *mṛtyor, vyatyayena* The variant should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716

satyā eṣām (AŚ *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB HG *kāmaiḥ*, SMB Jorgensen *kāmāḥ*, one ms *kāmāt*, AG *santu sarve*, VS *samnaman-*

tām) VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG See §412 The abl could mean 'according to their desire', like the instr

B *Nominative and genitive*

1 Partitive genitive and nominative

§438 First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms Namely in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominatives, in syntactic agreement (See §84) Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣinā* (and *prācī*, *ūrdhvā*, *pratīcī*, *udīcī*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc) quarter', AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB Besides this list, TS also has one with the variant *diśām* in each case 'the southern (etc) one of the quarters' Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS MS KS ŚB have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *sarad*) *ṛtuḥ*, and *hemantaśiśirāv* (°*rā*) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc) season', while TS in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc) of the seasons'

§439 Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following

subhūr asi (ŚŚ *subhūr namasi*) *śreṣṭho rasmir* PB ŚŚ *subhur asi śreṣṭho rasmīnām* TS ApŚ *svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmiḥ* VS MS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ 'The best ray' 'the best of rays'

yathāmī (RVKh *yathāmīṣām*, AV *yathaiṣām*, SV *yathaiteṣām*) *anyo anyam na jānan* (KVKh AV SV *jānāt*) RVKh AV SV VS 'That those may not know the one the other' 'that of those one may not know the other'

trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt KS † *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanam yad*, 'what land'

yāḥ (TS *yeṣām*) *tisraḥ prathamajāḥ* (TS KS TA *paramajāḥ*) TS MS KS TA In TS preceded by *ye grahāḥ pañcajanīnāḥ* 'what cups pertain to the five peoples (i e are five in number, cf Keith's note), of which three are first-born' Followed by *teṣām* (*tāsām*) *iṣam ūrjam sam agrabhīm* The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five' On the fem gender see §835

amṛtasya nidhir hitaḥ RV TB TA *amṛtam nihitam guhā* SV Preceded by *yad ado vāta te gṛhe* 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house' 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house'

mitrah satyānām (VS ŚB *satyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Parallel formulas have gen even in VS It is not certain that they are partitives, cf *mitra satyānām pate* (°*nām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ (in different contexts, to be sure)

Here we place also the following, tho the TS is poor and less close in meaning to the original

yad enaś cakṛvān baddha ṭeṣa AV *eṇo mahac cakṛvān baddha ṭeṣa* MS *enas cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām* TS The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound', otherwise Keith Undoubtedly *eṣa* is the proper form

2 Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§440 Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf §85)

vṛṣāsy ūrmiḥ TS TB *vṛṣormir asi* MS KS MŚ *vṛṣṇa ūrmir asi rāṣṭradāḥ* VS ŚB 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave) '

martānām (AV *martāsas*) *cid urvaśīr akṛpran* RV AV 'Even of (or, for) mortals Urvaśīs (even mortal Urvaśīs) have been fashioned ' See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 20 183

pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG *devate dyāvāpṛthivī*, ApMB *devatānām*) *mā mā samtāptam* HG ApMB MG 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities) '

mā no rakṣo abhi nad yātumāvatām (AV °*māvat*) RV AV The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in RV , but in AV used in its later concrete sense) 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rakṣas*) get at us '

apam sakhā (GB *yonih*) *prathamajā ṛtāvā* (GB *ṛtasya*) RV GB Here the nom of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive 'first-born, ṛta-full' or 'first-born of the ṛta' GB quite naturally falls into the familiar rigmarole expression *prathamajā ṛtasya* instead of the RV phrase, which is more recherché, so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that *ṛtasya* should be read for *ṛtāvā* in the two places where the phrase occurs

§441 In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nominative plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate relationship

yavās cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt* TS 'The Y and A were overlords' 'the overlordship belonged to the Y and A '

ta (MS *ta u*) *evādhipataya āsan* VS MS KS ŚB *teṣām ādhipatyam āsīt* TS 'These same were overlords' 'theirs was the overlordship '

§442 In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG *riṣat*, mss mostly *riṣak*) PG MG *yaso bhagasya mndatu* ArS 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG , doubtless original ArS makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagas ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen 'let him find glory of fortune' The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different

parīmaṃ yajamānam rāyo manuṣyānām VS ŚB *parīmam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS *parīmam yajamānam manuṣyāh saha rāyas poṣena prajayā ca vyayantām* MS *parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS Only the relations of VS and TS concern us here (for MS see §412, for KS §402) The former 'riches (subject) of humans' The latter 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects, §402)

āpah prajāpatiṃ yajño (ApŚ *prajāpateh prānā*) *yajñasya bheṣajam asi* (ApŚ omits *asi*) KŚ ApŚ 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice, ' 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths ' Here ApŚ substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction

ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā (VS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīve*, MS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve*) *bṛhadrathaṃtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS † *kalpantām*) VS TS MS In all preceded by a long list of noms , parallel subjects of the verb By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one Original 'May the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Brhat and Rathantara sāmans, prosper for me thru the sacrifice ' TS 'May the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Bṛhat' etc

§443 Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated The only connecting link in this group is this of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative Thus

[*dyutānas* (MS KS *nitānas*) *tvā mārulo minotu* (MS KS *nihantu*)]

mitrāvarunau (TS KS °*varunayor*) *dhruvena dharmanā* VS TS MS KS ŚB [*varunas tvā dhṛtavrato dhūpayatu* (TA °*vrata ādhūpayatu*)] *mitrāvarunau* (TA °*varunayor*) *dhru*° *dhar*° MS TA [Conc fails to divide these sentences properly] 'Let Dyutāna (Nitāna) fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuna with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V)'

vi śloka etu (*eti*, *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (*sūrih*, *sūrah*, *sūrah*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU See §419

agnir hotā vetv (ŚB and TB Poona ed *vettv*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) *prāvitram* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know), let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar' 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar'

dasve vede ca gāthinām (ŚŚ °*nāh*) AB ŚŚ Preceded by *adhīyata* (ŚŚ °*te*) *devarāto, rikthayor ubhayor ṛṣih, jahnūnam cādhipatye* (ŚŚ *cādhitasthire*) See Keith, *HOS* 25 308 n 8 In ŚŚ what was originally possessive gen ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthin[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject

pitaro nārāśansah sannah (VSK *sādyamanah*) VS VSK *pitaro nārāśansah* KS *pitṛnām nārāśansah* TS Soma is referred to, it is 'when settled, the Nārāśansa fathers' (VS VSK), 'the fathers, as Nārāśańsa' (KS), 'Nārāśansa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS) All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense

vāyuh pūtah pavitrena VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *vāyoh* AV VS VSK MS ŚB Kauś The contexts are the same, *pūtah* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect fac, it turns *vāyuh* into a gen, 'purified by Vāyu's strainer'

§444 Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word

śiva no astv aditer (TS KS °*tir*) *upasthe* TS MS KS AŚ *aditer upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e g *RVRep* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen is scarcely conceivable The orig must have meant 'may she (the Viṣnupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditi' In TS KS there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom epithets, hence *aditir* is substituted for *aditer*, by a sort of case attraction

yena dhāta bṛhaspateh (ŚG °*tih*) VSK AG (1 17 12a) ŚG *yena pūṣā bṛhaspateh* SMB GG ApMB HG MG Followed by *indrasya*

cāvapac chiraḥ, the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG , which clearly has assimilated *bṛhaspateḥ* to the case of *dhātā*

mātā (MS *mātur*) *mātaṛ mātā* MS KS ApŚ Preceded by *pṛthiṿi pṛthivyām śīda*, with which the first *mātā* doubtless goes in sense 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother' In MS 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother' If MS is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mālā*, but anything is possible in such rigmarole

cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam AV *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau* TS *cakṣuṣa* in TS 's lect fac may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV *supratīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV VS TS MS KS ŠB The gen of the YV texts agrees with the preceding *agneḥ* In AV (but not in Ppp , which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following noms (*tanūnapāt* etc), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni See Whitney on 5 27 1

3 Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445 As with other cases (§§32–8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it Thus

agner aham sviṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuḥ pratiṣṭhām gameyam KS *agneḥ sviṣṭakṛto ham devayajyayāyuṣmān yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* TS *agniḥ sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāham devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* MŚ Note *tasya* in MŚ , resuming *agniḥ*

aṇīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (and, *vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS ApŚ *agnīṣomau vṛtrahaṇau tayor* (MŚ *vṛtrahaṇāv agnīṣomayor*) *aham devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS MŚ

somasyāham devayajyayā reto dhiṣīya (*dhe°*) TS ApŚ MŚ *somo retodhās tasyāham deveyajyayā reto dhiṣīya* KS

catuṣpāda uta ye dvipādaḥ KS MŚ *catuṣpadām uta yo* (TS *ca*) *dvipadām* AV TS Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV *ya*) *īśe paśupatiḥ paśūnām* AV looks original, the gen depends on *īśe* In ultimate sense KS MŚ mean the same

devānām patnīr agnir gṛhapatir yajñasya mithunam (KS *°patir mithunam yajamānasya*) *tayor aham deveyajyayā* TS KS *devānām patnīnām aham devayajyayā* MŚ

vilıptī yā (and, *vilıptyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV (both) In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical Whitney would emend *vilıptyā(s)* to *vilıptī yā*, but it is quite construable as partitive gen depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c 'of the *vilıptī* (cow) he shall not eat' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense The variation has phonetic aspects VV 2 §791a

4 Transfer of epithet

§446 The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies

na vai śvetasyādhyācare (AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG Followed by *ahar jaghāna* (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kım*) *cana* Most texts 'In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one' or the like AG (by a phonetic shift, VV 2 §188) makes *śveta* an epithet of *ahır* 'In the house (?) the white serpent has killed nothing' The original genitive is, strictly, no 'epithet' of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyayādhvanah (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhvanah*, MG † *śraiṣṭhyasya svastyayādhvanah*, see VV 2 §707) *pāram aśıya* AŚ ApMB MG In AŚ *śreṣṭhah* is an epithet of the subject, in ApMB it becomes an epithet of *adhvanah*

vıprasya dhārayā kavıh RV *vıprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV In RV *vıprasya* is the human priest, SV transfers it to Soma (cf VV 2 §189)

pıbā sutasya matır na (AV *mater ıha*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ In either reading the meaning is obscure, if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that *matır* must refer to the subject of *pıba*, and *mater* to *sutasya*

vıpra vıprasya bṛhato vıpaścitah RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU *vıpro vıprasya sahaso vıpaścit* AV In the original 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar, so if *vipas°* be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen sg, the alternative would be to take it as nom pl with *viprāh*) In AV the context is different, the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power or the like

vıśām kavım vıśpatım mānuṣīnām (and, *manuṣır ıśah*) RV (both) The gen goes with *vıśām*, the nom with *ıśah*

mahāns te mahato mahımā AV *mahas te sato mahımā panasyate* (SV

paniṣṭama) RV AV SV VS. In RV etc *mahas* agrees with *te*, in the AV variant it is attracted to *mahimā*

§447 The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB TA °*per*, KS ŚŚ °*pe*) *havanaśrutah* MS KB (fragment) TA ŚŚ Add KS 9 8 in Conc In MS the epithet *vāt*° goes with *somā(h)*, in KB TA with *te* (= Indra), in KS ŚŚ with *indra* directly

yeṣām (AV Kauś *ya*) *īśe paśupatih paśūnām* AV TS KS MŚ Kauś *vasuh* (TS ApMB *vasoh*) *sūnuh sahaso apsu rājā* RV VS TS KS MS ApMB In TS ApMB *vasoh* is attracted into agreement with *sahaso*, instead of *sūnuh*

mahaś (TS MS KS *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS *hy asya*, KS *devasya*) *mīdhuṣo yavyā* (KS † *'vayāh*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The adjective is transferred from *yasya mīdhuṣo* to *yavyā* (*avayāh*)

garbho yas te yajñiyah KS *yasyai* (VSK °*yās*) *te yajniyo garbhah* VS VSK ŚB *yasyās te hārito garbhah* TS ApŚ The relative agrees in KS with *garbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow) Followed by

yasyai (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiranyayī* VS VSK ŚB *yonir vas te hiranyayah* KS Same conditions

śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ If *ojasīnam* is not a mere corruption or misprint in the (unperfect) edition, it seems to be a gen pl fem of a stem **ojasa*, going with *diśām* in the preceding pāda

maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah (AV * °*jā*) RV AV (both) In RV *svarājah* is gen (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut) *gotrasya* AV, doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the nom of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject

asya prānād apānatī (AV * MS °*tah*) RV AV SV VS ArŚ TS MS KS ŚB *apānatī* apparently goes with *rocanā* in the preceding pāda, as nom sg fem, *apānatah* with *asya* See Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 189 2, and Whitney on AV 6 31 2

mahām (SV *mahān*) *avīnām anu pūrvyah* RV SV The adjective is transferred in SV from *avīnām* to the subject

imau te pakṣāv (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrinau* (VSK TS † KS °*nah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *yau te pakṣāv ajarau patatrinau* Kauś The nom agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen with *te* The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *patatrino*, before a sonant see VV 2 §732

§448 Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS °*tiḥ*, KB ŚŚ °*teḥ*, JB °*tyuḥ*) TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ See §428 Here is no variation of number or gender, the rest show change of one or the other

yayo rathaḥ satyavartmarjuraśmiḥ AV *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmiḥ satyadharmā* TS MS KS The relative is resumed in all texts (with slight anacolouthon except in AV) by *mitrāvaruna(u)*

agner apunann uṣṇjo amṛtyavaḥ RV *agner akṛnvann uṣṇjo amṛtyave* MS *devā akṛnvann uṣṇjo amartyave* ApŚ In ApŚ *devā(ḥ)*, substituted for *agner*, goes with *uṣṇjo*

viśvā devānām (TS *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti* AV TS KS 'He declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS 'he, the god, declares all births' Ppp *viśvām devī*, looking perhaps a little in the direction of the TS reading—which however is certainly secondary

yaj (TS MS KS *yasya*) *jātam janitavyam* (TS MS KS *janamānam*) *ca kevalam* AV TS MS KS Preceded in AV by *yasyedam pradiśi yad virocate* 'In whose direction is what is born and to be born ' In the YV texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim* 'whose is what is born and being born '

āvir bhuvad (ArS *bhuvann*) *arunīr yaśasā goḥ* (ArS *gāvaḥ*) RV ArS In RV *goḥ* (gen sg) depends on a noun (something like 'milk') understood with *yasásā* (adj), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on 4 1 16 In ArS it is attracted to *arunīr*, felt now as nom pl , the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays' The starting-point of the change is the ambiguous form *arunīr*, which in RV is nom sg

5 Miscellaneous

§449 The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classifiable For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions of very varied character In the first two the 2d personal pronoun forms *tvam* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least

tam u tvam (SV *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīḥ* RV SV Preceded by *yad dha tyam māyinam mṛgam tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*

hastagrābhasya didhiṣos (AV *da*°) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV AV TA Followed by *patyur janitvam abhi sambabhūtha* (TA °*bhūva*) 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand ' On the verb form of TA cf VV 1 p 178 It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of

forms with subject *bhavān* (*bhavatī*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm glosses as a 2d person) If this be held too violent an assumption with *tvam* preceding as subject, the preceding pāda may be taken as a separate sentence 'thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand '

vayam te rudrā syāma RV *vayam vām mitrā syāma* SV 'May we be such (yours),' *té*, n pl

ayah(h)sthūnam (TS °*nāv*) *udītā* (TS MS KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryaś ca* VS ŚB See VV 2 §188

vider agner nabho nāma VSK ŚBK *vider* (*vided*) *agnir* (*agne*) , see §333

upasthāśānām mitravad astv ojah TS MS AŚ *upasthāśā mitravatīdam ojah* KS Both TS and MS accent *upasthā'śānām*, i e *upasthā' ā'ś*°, but MS p p apparently misunderstands and reads *upásthe āś*° KS has no accents The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure, on AV 12 1 62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological, Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy laps', which would imply *upásthās* Keith on TS renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartrī diśām*, the subject in the preceding pāda Whatever the meaning, in MS TS AŚ *upasthāśānām* goes with the preceding, while in KS *āśā* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartrī* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence

anu sūrya uṣaso anu raśmīn AV *anu sūryasya purutrā ca raśmīn* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays' '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun '

garbham aśvatary asahāsau PG *garbham aśvataryā iva* ApMB HG

prathamachad (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *parimachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV VS TS MS KS The nom is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman) Keith on TS 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense

brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV SV ApŚ *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers' '(serpents) in which are sorcerers ' On KS cf VV 2 §990

stomo yajñaś ca (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo havīṣmatī* (TB °*tah*) RV TB See VV 2 §188

śṛnvantu (TS ŚvetU °*tı*) *viśve amṛtasya putrāh* (AV *amṛtāsa etat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

dhıyā martah śaśamate (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV Preceded by *ṛdhad yas te sudānave* RV , *sa ghā yas te divo narah* SV See VV 2 §189

yasya śrutarvā bṛhann [*ārkṣo anīka edhata*] RV *ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye* [*bṛhadanīka ıdhyate*] SV

nedīya ıt sṛṇyah (TS † *sṛnyā*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS *āyat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §589 Without change of form, AV reinterprets the originally genitive sg form ('may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer') as a nom pl 'may the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer'

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnānı (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anu dattānṛnāmı* MS The latter is a phonetic corruption, VV 2 §237

pādo 'syehābhavat (AV *pādasye°*, TA † °*bhavāt*, both edd , add to VV 1 §137) *punah* RV AV ArS VS TA Whitney adopts the nom with comm and a few mss The gen seems not construable

somah prathamo vivide RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jāyā prathamamı* AV See §404

[*tasya mṛtyuś* (KS *mṛtyoś*, but read *mṛtyus* with two mss , TB *mṛtyau*) *caratı rājasūyam* AV KS TB]

[*agnıṣ tad dhotā kratuvid vıjānan* RV KB TB ApŚ Conc wrongly *janānām* for *vıjānan* in KB]

CHAPTER XVIII

NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

1 Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450 Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative, the first example is particularly simple and clear, in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary

kṛte yonau (KS *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed' 'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc

nābhā pṛthivyāh samidhāne agnau (MS KS *samidhāno agnim*, TS *samidhānam agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §393

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkusukaś ca yah*) AV Ppp (*apo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV Ppp On the interpretation of AV see §§433, 669 Whitney considers Ppp the correct reading The same sense must be intended in both 'and (wipe off) on Agni S '

§451 Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth' 'atmospheric, earthly')

antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām AV *yā antarikṣa uta pārthivīr yāh* TB ApŚ *yā antarikṣyā uta pārthivāsah* (AG *pārthivīr yāh*) KS AG The ms of Ppp has *āntarikṣa uta pārthivā yāh*, for the first word we may read *antarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *āntarikṣā* (adjective)

2 Phrase-inflection

§452 One case may be called an instance of 'phrase-inflection', the pāda is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form

sutāsa indra girvanah RV 8 95 2b *sutesv indra girvanah* RV SV

3 Case attraction

§453 A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'

gahanam (ŚB °*ne*) *yad inakṣat* RV VS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *dūre cattāya chantsat* 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing' 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached' Apparently ŚB assimilates to the case of *dūre* Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB from even VS as well as all other texts

rūpam indre (MS *indro*) *hiranyayam* VS MS TB The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhāratī, who are to put *rūpam hiranyayam* upon Indra In MS Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc being expressed

itthā hi soma in made (SV *madah*) RV SV AB KB ŚB AA AŚ ŚŚ Followed in RV SV by *brahmā* (SV °*ma*) *cakāra vardhanam* In RV the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= *some*) and *made* locs, in SV *soma* (= *somah*) and *madah* are coordinate subjects

vardhamāno (TS °*nam*) *mahān* (TS MS *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °*ram*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The loc is clearly original, it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc In TS both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made noms, this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837), undoubtedly the noms of the preceding half line have helped in the change It is not clear how TS understands *ā*

4 Transfer of epithet

§454 The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur, in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case

ā haryato arjune (SV °*no*) *atke avyatu* RV SV In RV the adjective agrees with *atke*, in SV it is transferred to the subject, Soma

tatrāpi dahre (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam viśokah* (TA comm and Poona ed text with v l °*kam*) TA MahānU [TAA 10 12 3, Poona ed, reads *visokah* in text and comm, the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation] In TA *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding 'in that small place' In MahānU *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam*

śarman (MS °*manā*) *te syāma* (VS *tava syāma sarmaṇā*, TS *tava syām śarmaṇi*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhiṭ*) VS TS MS KS TA In TS *udbhiṭ* is an epithet of the subject, in the others *udbhau* is loc with *śarman* (Comm on VS understands it as from a stem *ud-bhi*[1] He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhū* The stem is of course *udbhu*, declined as a short *u* stem) In all but TS *trivarūtha* stands for °*the* and goes with *śarman* In TS it might also be so interpreted, but p p °*thaḥ*, nom , and so Keith

tvam †*samudram prathamo vi dhārayaḥ* (SV *samudraḥ prathame vidharman*) RV SV See §402, end

asūrte (MS KS °*tā*, KapS °*tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS °*tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS KapS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS See Oldenberg, *Prol* 313, and *RVNoten* on 10 82 4 Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatte*, go with *rajasi*, *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāḥ* to *ṛsayaḥ*, either *niṣattā* or °*tāḥ* is possible, referring to either of these nouns

priyo (TB ApŚ *priye*) *devānām parame janitre* (AV TA °*vidhasthe*) RV AV SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the spirit of the dead man, *edhi* precedes The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*

dhruvaidhi poṣyā (PG †*poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous' We take *poṣye* as loc with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc fem addressed to the bride (which is also possible, in that case this variant would belong in §334)

arepasaḥ saceṭasaḥ (etc) *svasare manyumattamāḥ* (SV ApŚ *manyumantaḥ*) *cite goḥ* (SV *citā goḥ*, ApŚ *vidāthoḥ*) AV SV ApŚ MŚ A very obscure verse, in AV *cite* must clearly go with *svasare*, in SV with *arepasaḥ* etc (here nom masc , the in AV apparently acc fem) On ApŚ see VV 2 §§47, 61

vivṛtacakrā āśiṣāḥ HG ApMB (epithets of *prajāḥ*) *avimuktacakra* (v l °*rā*) *āśiṣaḥ* PG *nivṛtacakrāsau* AG (here an independent sentence, with *nadī* understood, in Conc under *somo no*) If °*cakra* is the true reading of PG , it may be a voc fem agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following *asau* (so Oldenberg), or it may be loc with the following *tīre*

viśve devā ansuṣu nyuptaḥ (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the *aṅśus* (when the *aṅśus* are offered)' Reference is made to the *graha* called *aṅśu* (ŚB 4 6 1 1 ff) Probably VSK is original

śucíḥ śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS †*śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ *ojasīnā* is nom fem agreeing with *ugrā* (sc *dik*) of the preceding, *ojasīne* and °*sye* go with *ahann* (*ahany*) *śukre* goes with the latter, *śukro* of KS (and presumably *sucíḥ* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *índra* of the following (*índrādhipatyaiḥ pipṛtāt*)

samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv índro ganeṣu MS *samsraṣṭā sa yudha índro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS See §548

§455 The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15) We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject The nom seems to be always secondary in this group All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case

urukṣayāḥ sagaṇā mānuṣāsaḥ (TS °*ṣeṣu*) AV TS We take it that TS is original 'widely dwelling with their troops among men' The AV assimilates to the preceding noms, making *mān°* an epithet of the subject, the Maruts

na yonā (TS *yonāv*, KS *yonir*) *uṣāsānaktā* (KS °*naktāgneḥ*) VS TS MS KS The verse deals with Agni 'Dawn and night, as in his native place' In KS *yoni* is made to agree with *uṣāsānaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni

sūr asi suvanasya retaḥ (MS *retā iṣṭakā svargo lokaḥ*) MS ApŚ *sūr asi svar asīṣṭakā svarge loke* KS 'Thou art the brick, the world of heaven (in the world)' Probably KS is orig, and MS has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*

ayaṃ sahasraṃ ā no dṛśe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmaṇi AV *ayam sahasram ānavo dṛśaḥ kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV comes closer to the orig (cf VV 2 §833) The nom of SV etc may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject

vājinaṃ tvā vājino 'vanayāmaḥ (MS *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour' 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (*mahāvīra*-vessel)' MS is doubtless orig

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS See §449

mahī mīṣpatnī sudaṇe (KS °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the firesticks 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the *ṛta*' ' that are two seats of the *ṛta*, (come hither)'

devānāṃ sumne bṛhate (TB ApŚ *sumno mahate*) *raṇāya* VS MS KS

ŚB TB ApŚ Preceded by *svaır dakṣaır* (TB ApŚ *sve dakṣe*) *dakṣapıteha sīda* The loc , 'ın the favor of the gods', ıs made an epıthet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods' Caland adopts *sumne* ın ApŚ , but thıs needlessly vıolates the clear ıntent of the Taıt school

samveśane (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV *tanvā*) *cārur edhı* RV AV *samveśanas* (epıthet of subject, understood as 'entering'?) *tanvaı* (*tanve*) *cārur edhı* SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ

yāh parastād rocane (MS °*nāh*) *sūryasya* TS MS *yā rocane parastāt sūryasya* RV VS KS ŚB 'Which, ın the light-space beyond the sun' ın MS , 'which bright ones, beyond the sun ' Refers to waters

jyotırjarāyū rajaso vımāne (KS °*nah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Preceded by *ayam venaś codayat pṛśnigarbhāh* KS ıs secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS), ıt takes the word as an epıthet of the subject, meanıng 'traverser' or the lıke, a sense famılıar ın RV (see e g 3 26 7) No need to emend KS wıth Raghu Vıra KapS p 27, n 2, Oertel 5

§456 In a few cases, contrarıwise, an orıgınal nom epıthet ıs changed ın a secondary versıon to an ındependent locatıve

pūrvam devebhyo amṛtasya nābhıh (ArS *nāma*, TA TU NṛpU *nābhāyı*) ArS TB TA TU NṛpU N Preceded by *aham asmı prathamajā ṛtasya* The nom ıs orıgınal 'I am the nave of ımmortalıty ' The loc ıs ratıonalızıng

ukṣā samudro (MS KS °*dre*) *arunah* (RV *aruṣah*) *suparnah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB In the orıgınal *samudra* ıs an epıthet of the sun Thıs seems quıte recherché to the redactors of MS KS , whıch understand ıt of the real ocean, the loc ıs ratıonalızıng and secondary but perfectly sensıble (the verb *āmveśa* follows), and by no means to be descrıbed as a 'mere blunder' (Keıth on TS)

āpır no bodhı sadhamādyo (SV °*dye*) *vṛdhe* RV SV In RV the word ıs an epıthet of *āpır* 'be our frıend, convıvıal, unto ıncrease ' In SV ıt may be felt as agreeıng wıth *vṛdhe*, conceıved as loc , but Benfey takes ıt as an ındependent noun, = *sadhamāde*, 'ın dem Gottermahl '

5 Mıscellaneous

§457 The remaınıng nom -loc varıants seem hardly capable of classı-fıcatıon, tho many of them are ınterestıng ındıvıdually

pumān putro jāyatām (ApMB ŚG *dhīyatām*) *garbho* (ŚG *garbhe*) *antah*

HG ŚG ApMB The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change Similarly

garbhe (MS *garbhah*) *sañ* (*san*, *sam-*) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB As prec

yac ca kimcij jagat sarvam (MahānU and TA comm *jagaty asmin*) TA MahānU 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by *dṛśyate śrūyate 'pi vā*) The loc seems to be rationalizing and secondary

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Different words, cf VV 2 §732

viśvāni yo amartyo, havyā marteṣu ranyati RV *viśve yasminn amartye, havyam martāsa indhate* SV 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals' 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation'

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV 2 §746

vṛṣā vanam (ApŚ *vane*) *vṛṣā madah* (ApŚ *made*, SV *sutah*) RV SV ApŚ 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilaration' Addressed to soma ApŚ has a natural rationalization ('thou art) a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication'

tasya mṛtyuś (KS *mṛtyoś*, read with v l *mṛtyuś*, TB *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV KS TB Perhaps TB means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i e proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭaśikṣārūpamarananimittabhūte sati rājasūyam carati*

vājasya hi prasave (TS °*vo*) *nanamīti* (TS *namna*°) TS MS KS Keith 'the instigation of strength is propitious' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for *namati*) 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend)' MS KS perhaps, with intransitive meaning and indefinite subject 'on the impulse of strength one bows' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which show continuous play on various meanings of *vāja*

viśvam asiu dravinam vājo (KS *vāje*) *asme* (KS †*asmin*) RV BS TS MS KS Original 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours' KS takes *vāja* as 'struggle' 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict' Cf prec

apriyah prati muñcatām AV *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś †*muñcatam*) AV Kauś Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30)

viṣṇum agan varunam pūrvahūtih AV *viṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau*

(MS °*hūtim*) VS MS ṢB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ See §399 The loc might here be the equivalent of the acc of goal But Mahīdhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc, 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling A still different interpretation is found in the comms on ṢB and TB, which make it not loc but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇū varuṇā*

agnir jyotir jyotir agnih SV VS MS KS etc *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS The contexts are different

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS *'dhvare sthāh*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice' 'the sacrifice stood upright'

ṛtasya garbhah (MS *dhāman*, KS *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣī* TS MS KS PG 'She who first lighted up (i e Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *ṛta*' 'first lighting up in the abode of the *ṛta*'

ya sma śrutarvaṇi ārkṣye SV *yasya śrutarvā bṛhan* RV See §449

yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB PG ApMB HG °*yam*) KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG 'What in thy heart' 'what heart is thine' KBU 2 8 has the version *yat te susīmam hṛdayam*, see §340

yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānah RV VS VSK TS *yad antarikṣam rajaso vimānam* AV Different contexts, AV has used a vague reminiscence of RV 10 121 5c in a quite secondary way 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere' 'what atmosphere measures out space'

atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhah TS *adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gṛhe* VS The latter 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house' TS corrupt, *viśve* translatable only as nom sg, cf §731, *gṛhah* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed'

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānah (TA † °*mahaṃ bibharat pinvamāne*) AV TA *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ Preceded by *sa bibharti pitaram pitāmahān* AV, *sa nah* (TA *tasminn eṣa*) *pitaram pitāmaham* TA ApŚ Both *sa* and *tasminn* (with which *pinvamāne* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to Vaiśvānara The loc of TA is almost 'absolute'

§458 There remain a few corruptions and errors

vasūni jāte janamāna (SV *jāto janimāny*) *ojasā* RV AV SV VS N Followed by *prati bhāgam na dīdhima* (SV °*mah*) The SV reading seems hopeless

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS *sa īm*

(TS *t*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all Cf VV 2 §839

[*varşma divah, nābhā pṛthivyāh* TB *varşman divo nābhā pṛthivyāh* ApŚ Poona ed of TB correctly *varşman*, a loc is necessary]

[*uta vām uşaso budhi* (GB *budhih*, but Gaastra with all mss but one *budhi*) RV GB]

CHAPTER XIX

ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1 Associative instrumental complementary accusative

§459 Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an *associative* instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55–7) The meaning is virtually the same Thus

asthi majjānam māsaraṁ (MS °*ram*) VS MS KS TB Followed by *kārotareṇa dadhato gavām tvacı* 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth' In MS there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *asthi* and *majjānam*

tapūnṣy (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV VS TS MS KS Followed by *asamdito vi sṛja viṣvag ulkāh* The original correlates *tapūnṣy, patamgān* and *ulkāh* as objects of *vi sṛja* MS substitutes *tapobhir* for the first, probably as an associative instr, tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā*

rūpaır apiṁśad (TB • *rūpāni piṁśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV AV VS MS KS TB (both) N 'He shaped all beings along with their forms' 'shaping all forms and beings'

svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS °*jaih*),

svāhā somam indriyam (MS °*yaih*),

svāhāgnim na bheṣajam (MS °*jaih*), all VS MS TB The words *hotā yakṣad*, 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs of MS must be understood as associative Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of')

hastyaśvāsvataraı rathaih RVKh Conc (Aufr) *hastyaśvādigave ratham* RVKh Scheft *bahvasvājagavedakam* MG

sapta ca mānuṣīr (AG ŚG MG *vārunīr*, PG *vārunaır*, v l °*nīr*) *imāh* (PG MG *imāh prajāh*) ApMB HG AG ŚG PG MG Followed by

sarvāś (ApMB HG *tisraś*) *ca rāyabāndhavīh* (PG °*vaih*, MG °*vyah*, ApMB °*bandhavīh*, HG °*bandhavaih*) ApMB HG AG ŚG † PG MG (Conc puts *prajāh* with the second pāda in PG MG) The preceding verb is *apa jahi* in all but the plainly corrupt MG (see Knauer's note) The instrs are associative, equivalent to correlative objects

māsarena parisrutā (TB *parişkrtā*, KS *parisrutam*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *gobhir na somam aśvinā*, and followed by *sam adhātām sarasvatyā, svāhendre sutam madhu* *Parisrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra Some (*somam, sutam, madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs, *parisrut* is treated in both ways in different texts In TB *parişkrtā* must be meant as nom dual with *aśvinā*, this is a reminiscence of *māsarena parişkrtāh* (so VS TB, in MS *parisrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text

vi kumāram jarāyunā AV *vi garbham ca jarāyu ca* TS KS The verb, continued from pāda a, is *bhinadmi* 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth' 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate)'

idam aham rakşo 'bhi (MS * *rakşobhih*) *sam dahāmi* (MS KS MŚ *sam ūhāmi*) TS MS (bis) KS MŚ The instr occurs in the brāhmana passage corresponding to the mantra *rakşo 'bhi*, it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383) Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no v l At a pinch *rakşobhih* could be associative, with *idam* felt as the direct object

ganān me mā vi tāişīh (MŚ °*şat*, Vait *vy arīrişah*) TS Vait MŚ *ganair mā mā vi tāişata* MS 'Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst'

§460 Peculiar are the following two cases, it seems doubtful whether the acc in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding

sam mā sṛjāmy adbhir (TS *apa*) *oşadhībhih* VS TS MS KS If TS means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *apah* as a secondary acc, as if of goal (cf the use of the locative in §462), at least he renders 'I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants', which is the meaning of VS MS KS Is it, literally, 'I unite myself unto waters, with plants'? Cf §59

sam tvā nahyāmy adbhir (TS *apa*) *oşadhībhih* TS MŚ MG As prec

§461 Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the

phrase, there is an interchange of acc with instr and of instr with acc , the two case-forms changing places

tvaṣṭā rūpena samanaktu yajñam AŚ *tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi samanaktu yajñaiḥ* ŚB TB ŚŚ KŚ 'Let Tvaṣṭar unite the sacrifice with form' or 'forms with sacrifices'

§462 In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved In the first it, rather than the instr , varies with the one acc after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr plus acc

aṅgāny ātman (MS *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS MS KS TB 'The physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)', or ' his body with his limbs ' MS is evidently influenced by the following pāda *ātmānam aṅgaiḥ samadhāt sarasvatī* (in all)

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc in one form, while in the other we have acc plus instr

samudre yasya rasām id āhuḥ AV *yasya samudram* (MS KS Ppp *samudram yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuḥ* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā' AV as it stands would mean ' the Rasā in the ocean', which may be defended, but note that the meter needs an extra syllable, which the instr *samudrena* would furnish If we dared emend AV thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461

2 Other accs and instrs , substantially equivalent

§464 The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc and an instr may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically, to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up)

§465 We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path ' Thus

ghṛtenārkam abhy arcanti vatsam AV *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young' 'they sing with songs unto the young'

yam putrīna ākramante viśokāh AB *yenākramante putrīno (ye) viśokāh* ŚŚ Preceded by *eṣa panthā urugāyah suśevah* (ŚŚ *vitato devayānah*) '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'

tantum tatam peśasā samvayantī VS *pesasvatī tantunā samvayantī* (KS TB *samvyayantī*) MS KS TB Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread'

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *mā°*, TS ApMB * *yam abadhnīta*, MŚ MG *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG '(the bond) with which he bound thee' or 'which he bound' Note that the 'inner' acc is not used with the acc of the person

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *tasmā indrāya havişā* (TB *havir ā*) *juhota* MS TB 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here'

srucājyāni juhvatah AV *srucājyena juhvatah* TB (so Poona ed for the corrupt *srucānyena juhvata* of Bibl Ind ed) 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon' Preceded by *medasvatā yajamānāh*, the instr *medasvatā* (which because of gender cannot agree with *srucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ājyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary

§467. With a verb of motion an acc of goal is a very natural construction If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible

marya iva yuvatibhih sam arşati (AV *iva yoşāh sam arşase*) RV AV SV 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen') The AV comm reads *yoşā*, instr, and Whitney calls the construction with *yoşāh* 'lame', which seems to us unjust The acc of goal is surely quite natural, indeed with this verb the instr strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*)

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhāh* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals'

trayo gharmā anu reta āguh AV *trayo gharmāso anu jyotişāguh* (MS

KS *retasāguh*) TS MS KS ApMB 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light)' In a mystical passage, the real meaning is obscure

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV Ppp VS MS TS *achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh* KS In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV and KS seem to be secondary In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV *ghṛtā cit* as secondary to KS *ghṛtācīh* We now think, however, that *ghṛtā cit* may well be the original reading 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings)' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghṛtācīh* (agreeing with *sruco* which is made the subject in KS, 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghṛtena*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *savasā* It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghṛtā cit*, a lectio difficilior

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech, we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc of the goal of speech In this variant that case varies with an associative instr, if the reading is acceptable

grāvā vaded (KS Conc with v l *grāvāvādīd*) *abhi somasyāṅśum* (ApŚ °*sunā*) KS ApŚ Followed by *indram* (KS ed *endram*, Conc with v l *indram*) *sikṣemendurnā sutena* Caland assumes the KS reading for ApŚ 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma, may we present Indra with the pressed drink' But it seems that the instr can stand 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,' etc

§469 Other instances, in which the associative idea of 'joining' is hardly felt in the instr, which nevertheless interchanges with an acc, are

devair uktā (Ppp *sṛṣṭā*, KS *nuttā*, ApŚ MŚ *nyuptā*) *vyasarpo mahitvam* (Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ °*tvā*) AV Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ In AV, 'thou didst expand unto might' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr, 'thou didst expand with might (mightily)'

ye ṭaprathetām (AV ArS °*thām*) *amitebhir ojobhih* (AV *amitā yojanāni*, ArS *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV ArS TS MS KS 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues' 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case Add to VV 1 §331

pra rādhasā (SV *rādhānsi*) *codayāte* (SV °*yate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might,' or, SV might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287 f , against Grassmann's suggestion that SV is original

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV °*dhā bhuvat*) RV SV 'Shaking (with) his beard '

sa virājam (KS °*jā*) *pary eti* (MS *etu*, KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS MS KS 'He goes about knowing majesty' 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty' The VS parallel has *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS , taking *virājā* as nominative

aham (AB AŚ *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS * *ghṛtena*) VS MS (bis) KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *tenāham adya manasā sutasya* KS The contexts are the same, both are followed by *somam rājānam iha bhakṣayāmi* The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma ' KS *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somam*, both really referring to the same thing For a similar reason MS changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somam*

[*vanema pūrvīr aryo manīṣāh* (p p °*ṣā*) RV The s p has *manīṣā agnih* , implying *manīṣāh*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg* 385, *SBE* 46 71, *RVNoten* on 1 70 1 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts ' The p p must understand an instr , it is followed by Geldner *Ved St* 3 87, 89]

3 Acc of bahuvrīhis instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr)

§470 The nature of the instr is such that in a karmadhāraya cpd it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a bahuvrīhi cpd agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all We found above (§413) such variations between instr and nom forms, here we record one of instr and acc , as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr karmadhāraya we have the cpd broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc) with dependent instrumental

rākām aham suhavām (AV °*vā*) *suṣṭutī huve* RV AV TS MS KS SMB ApMB N Comm on AV and Ppp read °*vām*, if °*vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *suṣṭutī* 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise '

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇivojasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV Epithets of Indra, 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might ' The meaning is practically identical Cf VV 2 §818

4 Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471 The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning

juhūr, upabhṛd, dhruvāsi ghṛtācī nāmnā TS (intending *juhūr asi ghṛtācī namnā, upabhṛd asi* , etc) *ghṛtācy asy upabhṛn nāmnā* (VSK *nāma*) VS VSK ŚB (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabhṛd*) *juhūr asi ghṛtācī nāmnā* TB *dyaur asi janmanā juhūr nāma* MS (also with *pṛthivy dhruvā* , and *antarikṣam upabhṛn*)

pra hansasas tṛpalam (SV °*lā*) *manyum* (SV *vagnum*) *acha* RV SV The RV *tṛpalam* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully' In SV if the p p is correct it must also be considered an (instr) adverb (but *tṛpalah*, 'joyful,' n pl adjective, may be intended by the s p)

§472 In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions

yad vo śuddhah (VSK † °*dhah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghanaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS VSK ŚB *yad aśuddhah parā jaghana tad va etena sundhantām* KS In the latter *etena* is hardly adverbial 'by this (procedure)' In VS etc it seems to be represented by *idam*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idam*) purify 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this)' In MS *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tan sundhadhvam* there is no such pronoun

yas te rajan varuna deveṣu pāśas tam ta etenāvayaje (KS *ta etad avayaje*) MS KS In KS *etad* is a pure adverb 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away' In MS *etena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite)' See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc , and those beginning *yas te deva varuna*, which occur in TB and have *etena*

priyena dhamnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda* (VSK TS TB ApŚ * *priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis) *sedam priyena dhamna priyam sada †āsīda* (VSK *priyena nāma priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK ŚB In TS etc texts *priyena nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr Conc suggests reading *nāmna* in VSK, but this is unnecessary, 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought

yad aham dhanena prapanan̄ carāmi ApMB *yad vo devāh prapanam carāma* HG *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV *yad* is used as a conjunction, *yena* with *dhanena*

5 Case attraction

§473 We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above)

vyacişţham annai (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS † KS *vidānam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB In the original *annaih* is instr of means with either *vyacişţham* or *rabhasam*, which refer to Agni 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful' In TS MS KS it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda a Keith takes *annam* as object of *vidānam*, but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS no such construction is possible

haviṣā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaih*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *tam indram paśavah sacā, asunobhā sarasvatī, dadhānā abhyanūşata* In most texts *indriyam* is a collateral object ' (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice ' In VS it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā* ' with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds ' In TB in a similar way the loc *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam* '(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism ' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed, this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*) †*gṛnītam* (AV *gṛnata*) AV VS TS MS KS Preceded by *daivyā* (AV *daivā*) *hotārā* (AV °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* The instr of AV KS is original 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni ' In the others the preceding accs have attracted *jihvayā* into their case 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation ' On MS see §174

6 Other miscellaneous variants

§474 The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material

vidhes tvam asmākam nāma (AB AŚ *nāmnā*) MS KS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *vidhema te nāma*, in AB AŚ the words *dyām gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr is construed 'Let us

reverence thy name, do thou reverence our name' (in AB AŚ) ' do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven '

taved u stomam (SV *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV AV SV The root *cit* governs either acc or gen , so that it is permissible for SV to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa* 'I have thought only on thy praise' 'I have thought only on thee with praises '

cakṣuś cit sūrye sacā RV *cakṣuṣā sūryam dṛśe* SV In RV *cakṣuś* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf Bergaigne, *Rel véd* 1 184 The SV has a lect fac 'that we may see the sun with our eye '

pratiprasthātah paśunehi KŚ ApŚ *pratiprasthātah paśum upakalpayasva* MŚ 'Come with the cow' 'bring the cow near ' Change of verb

yajñam yad yajñavāhasah AV *yajñair vā* (TB *vo*) *yajñavāhasah* RV TS TB The context of RV TS is wholly different from that of AV TB In RV TS followed by *viprasya vā matīnām, marutah śrnutā havam*, for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 86 2 In AV TB followed by *śikṣanto nopa* (TB *āśikṣanto na*) *śekima* AV makes *yajñam* object 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect it ' TB is variously interpreted, the comm is worthless To us it seems to mean, if anything 'seeking power by sacrifice to you, O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded ' But the real explanation is that TB , in repeating the AV stanza, has contaminated it with the similar pāda from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV , or more likely from TS

stomair (*giro*) *vardhanty atrayah, gīrbhih* (*girah*) *śumbhanty atrayah* RV (both) 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris decorate (him) with songs' 'the Atris increase songs (for the god), decorate (i e fashion) songs (for him) ' The first is preceded by an acc referring to the god, the second by a dat

divyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, VS TS * KS ŚB *vayasā*, TS * MS *vayasam*) *brhantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS KS ŚB AŚ Suparn The original *vāyasam* 'bird' is changed into the instr *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem

pra tad viṣnu (*viṣnuh, viṣnus*) *stavate vīryena* (AV *vīryāni*, TB ApŚ *vīryāya*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU The original means 'Vişnu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavate* having passive force In AV , unless *pra stavate* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently be taken with active force 'V here praises his (own) heroic deeds' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB ApŚ have another one, with a dative of result 'V is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism' Cf §558

ghṛtena tvam tanvam (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava* KS MŚ Kauś MG Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp TS KS *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn AV *svadhāḥ* is generally taken as acc 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (" cf *gharmam* of the preceding verse)' The others 'he set forth according to his own will (?)' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom sg in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic Macdonell, *Ved Gr* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *ā*, sometimes appears in the nom sg without *s* in the p p but with hiatus in the s p, and refers to RPr 2 29 TPr 10 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā as* If nom, the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth' The variant may be partly phonetic in character, it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff, this might have been mentioned in §342)

viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ VS TS *viśvā* (MS *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS °*ṣāṇām*) AV MS KS See §573 The VS TS reading has all the earmarks of a lect fac, with *mānuṣīr* understand *kṛṣṭīs* 'freeing men from fear' Cf VV 2 §§783, 832

udagrābhasya namayan vadhasnaiḥ (SV °*snum*) RV SV There seems to be no object for *namayan* in RV, SV feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demoniac enemies

dame-dame suṣṭutir (°*tyā*, °*tīr*, °*tī*) *vām iyānā* (*vāvṛdhānā*, °*nau*), sec §413 The instr is clearly original, acc secondary

[*mā me 'vāṅ nābhim atigāḥ* TS KŚ MŚ *mām evā gnābhir abhigāḥ* Vait Read in Vait *mā me 'vāg nābhim*]

7 Phrase inflection

§475 We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21–2)

tuvidyumna yaśasvatah (RV • °*vatā*) RV (both) AV See *RVRep* on 1 9 6

8 Transfer of epithet

§476 Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc and instr , all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case

iha tvā goparīnasā (SV °*sam*) RV AV SV Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhase* 'Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk' 'here thee rich in milk' Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīnasāh* (sc *somāh*), nom pl , implying that RV p p is incorrect

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB HG MG *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB BṛhU. Preceded by *hiranyayī aranī*, and followed by *tam te garbham havāmahe* (*dadhāmahe*) In the first *yam* refers to *garbham*, in the latter *yābhyām* to *aranī*

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB Followed by *aśvinendrāya vīryam* The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam*

yebhir vācam viśvarūpebhir (TB °*rūpām*) *avyayan* (TB *samavyayat*) KS TB The adjective is transferred from *yebhir* (TB comm *yaih karmakausalaih*) to *vācam*

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °*tā*) MS ApŚ And others, see Conc Preceded by *indrena manyunā yujā* In MS *pṛt*° means 'enemies', in ApŚ '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *indrena* Caland translates the MS reading without comment, we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ , tho it is of course secondary and based on MS For *pṛtanyati* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf RV 1 54 4 The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indrena*

yayāśiṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutah AV *yam āśirā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*, on the gender-change cf §809

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV Preceded by *upa* (AV *abhi*) *te 'dhām sahamānām* 'I have laid under (AV over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing, AV I have laid under thee the stronger [plant]) ' The instr in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808), by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV

§477 There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity

hastacyutī (SV °*cyutam*) *janayanta* (SV † °*yata*) *praśastam* RV SV KS KB ApŚ MŚ N The original form is a Vedic instr, 'by hand-motion', like the parallel *dīdhitibhiḥ* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc epithets (of which *praśastam* is one) In SV *hasta*° is made into another epithet of Agni

savītarau na tejasā (TB °*sī*) VS TB The word *savītarau* (said by the scholiasts to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe*) VS *tejasā* is an instr of means with the following verb (*vatsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savītarau* may also be considered the subject 'they two have increased Indra with splendor' It can hardly be doubted that TB *téjasī* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem dual, the comm takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'

CHAPTER XX

ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

1 After verbs of motion and the like

§478 Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative, Delbrück (AIS 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbruck 147 f), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur

kāmena mā (TA *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA *āgāt*) AV TA 'By love love has come to (for) me '

ado māgachatu MS KS MŚ *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ (Delete ApŚ 4 13 8 under the former heading in Conc and add it under the latter) If ApŚ has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf VV 2 §990), it would belong here

§479 Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are

sā paprathe pṛthivī pārthivāni (KS MŚ °*vāya*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region) '

sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan TS *sindhur avabhṛthāyodyatah* VS 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath' 'Sindhu lifted up for the p b ' The verbal expression is changed in VS to one which more naturally goes with a dative

śubham yātām (MS *śubhe kam*) *anu rathā avṛtsata* RV TS MS KS Here both *śubham* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous, Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'), to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc

tam (TS *tad*) *aśvinā pari dhattam svasti* (MŚ °*taye*) TS KS MŚ 'O Aśvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being)'

§481 After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with an acc of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*

athem enam (AV *athemam enam*) *pra hinutāt pitṛbhyah* (AV † *pitṝnr upa*) RV † 10 16 1d, AV TA 'Then send him forward unto the fathers' AV comm reads *pitṛbhyah* but also comments upon *upa*' (as if blending the two readings)

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, may be construed with either acc or dat of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72)

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi Vait *suvarge loke yajamānam hi dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB ApŚ (both in each) 'Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer' 'place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven'

§483 Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat or acc of person

yajñasya tvā (MS *te*) *yajñapate sūktoktau* (TS *havirbhih*, KS *saha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *sūktavāke* (omitted in VS MS ŚB) *namovāke vidhema* (VS ŚB add *yat svāhā*, MS adds *svāhā*)

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭṛi*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭi*°, and so TA Poona ed with v l °*trī*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ We need not accept Pischel's improbable theory that *te* is acc (see Oldenberg's judicious critique, *RVNoten* 1 25 ff) The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to (a god)' with dat is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with *sac* (see e g RV 8 60 18)

§484 Other verbs

ābhūṣantas te (TB *tvā*) *sumatau navāyām* RV AV TB The usual interpretation makes *te* a gen with *sumatau*, which is dependent on the participle 'presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor' Without denying this possibility we suggest that *te* may be a dat depending directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple *bhūṣ* with dat (RR studere, colere) For this in TB an acc is substituted (comm on TB *sarvatah prašansantah*) 'attending thee in a new song of praise'

tam indram abhi gāyata RV 8 32 13 *tasmā indrāya gāyata* RV 1 4 10, 5 4, AV Both 'sing praises to this Indra' The compound *abhi-gai* takes acc, the simple *gai* dat RV 8 32 13 = 1 4 10 entire

2 Dedicatory expressions

§485 In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126)

dıgbhyah śrotram (sc *ālabhate*) TB † 3 4 18 1 *dıśah śrotram* (sc *anvavasṛjatāt*) AB TB AŚ ŚŚ '(He takes) the ear for the directions' '(send) the ear to the directions'

agnım svāhā MS *agnım agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ MŚ ApMB *svāhāgnım* ĶS ŚB TB ŚŚ *agnaye svāhā* AV etc Likewise *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB °*patım*) TS KSA TB *svāhā sarasvatyaı* (KS °*tım*) TS ĶS etc , *svāhā vıśvān devan* KS *svāhā vıśvebhyo devebhyah* VS TS KSA ŚB And many other similar phrases The contexts are often quite different The dat is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to ' The acc is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly supplıable, and then the acc is commonly understood in a sort of interjectional fashion, however, one may always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as 'we worship' Cf next, and §377 The TB comın supplies *uddıśya* Cf also §459, *svahāgnım*

ākūtım (MS MŚ MG °*tam*) *agnım prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *ākūtyaı prayuje gnaye* (MS ĶS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Cf prec , and see especially TS 4 1 9 1, where the acc form occurs in a list of several such acc formulae, followed by two in the dat

3 Dative of purpose accusative (object or goal)

§486 The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case, see §70 Thus

rāyas poṣam vı ṣyatu (RV MS TB * *ṣyatām*, AV MS * *ṣya*) *nabhım asme* (AV *asya*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) TB (bis) ApŚ *tvaṣtah poṣāya vıṣya nābhım asme* ĶS '(Our seminal fluid, *turīpam*) release (let him release, etc) for increase (as increase of wealth) for us (etc)'

mahyam sūro abharaj jyotıṣe kam AV *mahyam jyotır abharat sūryas tat* ĶS 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light' 'to me the sun brought that light' The AV (probably original) understands the object from the preceding pāda, ĶS by a lect fac makes *jyotıs* the object

asamāīm gṛheṣu nah AV *gṛhānām asamartyai* TS In AV the acc is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*, Bloomfield, following Sāyana ' preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house ' In TS is added another pāda, *bahavo no gṛhā asan*, the two constituting an independent sentence 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house '

tam te gṛhnāmi yajñiyaih ketubhih saha KS *tam te* (AŚ *tvā*) *harāmi brahmanā* TB Vait AŚ ApŚ MŚ The preceding pādas are *yo aśvatthah śamīgarbha āruroha tve sacā* (KS *tvayy api*) 'The *aśvattha* that has grown up by thee (TB comm *tve tvayi nimittabhūtāyām satyām*), that for thee I take ' In AŚ the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB comm *tvadartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc 'that I take as thee (the firestick) ' The firestick of course is made from the *aśvattha*

vṛṣane śuṣmāyāyuṣe varcase TS *vṛṣanam śuṣmam āyuṣe varcase kṛdhi* MŚ Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibībhiṣo mā me hārdi* (MŚ °*dim*) *tiṣṭā* (MŚ *dinṣā*) *vadhīh* 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart unto (i e so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor' ' make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor ' It is hard to say which is original, if MŚ be considered so, TS could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives

[*pra tad viṣnu* (*viṣnuh*) *stavate vīryena* (*vīryāni, vīryāya*), sec §§474, 558 The instr is the original form]

4 Miscellaneous final dative accusative

§487 There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed, other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant

śukrām vayanty asurāya nirnijam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirnije* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura ' The noun of RV becomes an infinitive in SV , perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*, but cf also *nirnije* in RV 10 49 7

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA 'May the gods aid me unto splendor ' The MS form seems to be neut acc of a stem **śobhāyin*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly'

prchāmi tvā citaye (LŚ °*yam*) *devasakha* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ The dat *citaye* may be considered an infinitive 'I ask thee for

understanding (i e that I may understand) ' LŚ *citayam* (repeated in the comm) would seem to be from an unrecorded **citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tvā* ' thee that understandest' Cf next

kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV AV 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know) ' The AV is a lect fac , attracting the adjective into agreement with *kavīn* The change resembles that in the last

5 Miscellaneous dative of interest accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative, usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also

dyauś ca ma idam pṛthivī ca pracetasau AV *dyauś ca nah* (KS TB *tvā*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* RV KS TB The RV passage is in a different context from all the others In KS TB the pronoun is object of *pipartu* 'protect' Ppp according to Roth ap Whitney has *mā*, acc , for AV *ma idam*, this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us, *idam* is object of *pipartu*, *me* dative of interest We may render with Ludwig 'Dyaus und Pṛthivī fordere mir dies', or we may take *pipartu* from *pṛ* 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'

ajīyapatendram vājam VS ŚB (*ajīyapata*) *indram vājam* (MS MŚ *indrāya vācam*) *vimucyadhvam* TS MS KS TB MŚ 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize, (be released) ' So essentially all but MS MŚ, which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra '

vanaspatīn vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta vīrudhah AV 8 8 14ab, 11 9 24ab, *devān punyajanān pitṛn* AV 8 8 15b, 11 9 24d *vanaspatibhyo vānaspatyebhya oṣadhibhyo vīrudbhyah sarvebhyo devebhyo devajanebhyah punyajanebhyah* Kauś In Kauś a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV passages (used in AV in quite other, and mutually different, contexts)

yajñam hinvanty adribhih RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV 'They promote the sacrifice with stones' 'let the stones be for the sacrifice ' See §419, same context, loosely rephrased

madhu tvā madhulā cakāra (Ppp *karat*, MS *kṛnotu*, TA ApŚ *karotu*) RV Ppp MS TA ApŚ *madhu me madhulā karah* AV Change of person in pronoun, 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey' 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me '

pāvamānyaḥ (SV MG °*nīḥ*) *punantu mā* (SV *naḥ*, MS *tvā*, YDh *te*) RVKh SV TB MG YDh 'May they purify me (us, thee)' 'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object Cf next

sa tvā (Kauś *no*, VıDh *me*) *rakṣatu sarvataḥ* AV Kauś VıDh In VıDh no object is expressed, unless *me* be taken as acc as Jolly seems to take it (cf above, §483, we take no stock in *me*, *te* as accs) As in the preceding 'may he protect for me on all sides'

kas te yunaktı, and *kas te vimuñcatı*, MG *kas tvā yunaktı*, and *kas tvā vimuñcatı*, VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ *ko vo yunaktı*, and *ko vo vimuñcatı*, ApŚ MŚ MG On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a rite see Caland on ApŚ 4 16 10, it is simply a mystically grandiose expression for 'beginning' and 'ending' In most texts *tvā* is used referring to the rite In MG twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*, the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood MG 'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau* ApŚ Preceded by *indrāya bhāgam parı tvā nayāmı* AV , *indrasya bhāgaḥ stute dadhātana* ApŚ Both unintelligent and scarcely translatable, *yajamāna* and *sūrı* ought to refer to the same person, but only Ppp (as reported by Roth ap Whitney, *yajñapatiś ca sūrıḥ*) has them in the same case (the nominative, in other respects Ppp is hardly more intelligent)

tanā (SV *tmanā*) *kṛnvanto arvate* (SV °*tah*) RV SV Preceded by *sugā tokāya vājınah* Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājınah* agrees in RV 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring, they the swift ones, and for the steed' SV 'the swift ones, creating welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating welfare and swift horses' ?

amā ma edhı mā mṛdhā na (AŚ †*ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *apāma edhı mā mṛthā na indra* SMB 'Do not abandon us (me)' 'do not die for us' (!) See VV 2 §78

abhı tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV See §476

agnau vā tvā gārhapatye 'bhıceruḥ AV *yām te cakrur gārhapatye* AV The latter 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee', while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhıcerur* 'bewitched'

samıdhaḥ (ApŚ MŚ *samıdbhyaḥ*) *preṣya* ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ In all texts addressed by the adhvaryu to the maitrāvaruna 'order (the hotar to recite the formula) for the firesticks' The dative is usual with

the stereotyped *preṣya* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc to denote the rite or action ordered (e g *sāma* or the like, see BR s v *iṣ* + *pra*) Here *samidbhyah* is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the *devatā* of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite But by figurative transference *samidhah* is treated as the name of the rite 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks' See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmānsā Nyāya Prakāsa*, §§204, 300

tan ma (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB Vait In GB 'let that be strong for me again' Note hiatus in Vait If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh 5 508 'let that make me strong again'

[*yatrā vrksas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG *yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *tanuvai* might be gen with ending *ai* (§144), cf the AV reading which is certainly gen But since HG is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV reading), little reliance can be placed upon it]

6 Transfer of epithet

§489 Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases First, some in which number and gender are not changed

dakṣāya dakṣavṛdham (TS °*dhe*) TS MS KS Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotismate jyotiṣmantam gṛhnāmi* In MS KS the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding, in TS it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣāya*

dyaus te (AŚ PG *tvā*) *dadātu pṛthivī* (PG adds *tvā*) *pratigṛhnātu* AŚ PG HG The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc to the gift, 'may heaven give (to) thee' The next two are similar

śukram te śukrena gṛhnāmi TS KS ApŚ *śukram tvā śukra sukrāya gṛhnāmi* MS MŚ *śukram tvā śukra ādhunomi* VS ŠB As in prec and next, the pronouns refer to different things

śukram te (MS *te śukra*) *śukrena krīnāmi* (MS omits *krī*°) *candram candrenāmṛtam amṛtena* (MS adds *krīnāmi*) TS MS KS *śukram tvā sukrena krīnāmi* VS ŠB *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma, cf preceding two

athaitān aṣṭau virūpān (TB † 3 4 19 1 *athaitān arūpebhya*) *ālabhate* VS VSK TB In VS VSK the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati, in TB the same eight are dedicated to *devatās* called 'formless'

dhattam rayim sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB *rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam* AV The epithet *vacasya* is attracted in AV into agreement with *rayim*, in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift

yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made RV AŚ *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vivakṣase* SV In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in SV with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotāram tvā vṛnīmahe*)

indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata ukthāyuve (VSK MS °*yuvam*, VS ŚB KS † *ukthāvyam*, VS VSK ŚB °*am gṛhnāmi*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The acc goes with *tvā*, the dat with *indrāya* Add to VV 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu ukthā-vī*)

§490 With change of number and gender as well as case

īdiṣvā hi mahe (ApŚ *mahī*, v l *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Followed by *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ °*vīm*, see §746) In SV the adj agrees with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ (if *mahī* be read) with *dyāvā*

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS TB ApŚ as secondary Cf §15

ayakṣmāya tvā samsṛjāmi prajābhyah VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah prajayā samsṛjāmi* KS TB ApŚ 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny'

§492 Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (MS KS *rājasūyāś*, TS *rājasūyāya*) *citānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB The waters are originally described as 'king-creating', in TS this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-crowning', which depends on *citānāh* ('caring for, having regard to'), cf BR s v 4 *cit*, *2* See next

svāhā rājasūyāh MS MŚ *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāh* TS *svāhā rājasvah* VS ŚB Supply *apah* in all, we have here a reminiscence of the formula just quoted, q v

CHAPTER XXI

ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

1 With verbs of separation, guarding, etc

§493 The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc or the abl Hence the following variants

iyam duruktāt (PG °*tam*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG 'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or warding off slander (from its wearer) '

āpas tvā tasmāj jīvalāh AV *āpas tat sarvam jīvalāh* ApŚ Followed by *punantu* (ApŚ *śundhantu*) *śucayah śucim* 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all', in ApŚ *tat sarvam* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc , or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that) '

sakhyam te mā yoṣāh sakhyam te mā yoṣṭhāh SMB *sakhyāt te mā yoṣam sakhyān me mā yoṣthāh* TB ApŚ ApMB HG The root *yu* is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated' In SMB the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both!) 'Withhold not thy friendship ' The others 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine '

2 With prepositions

§494 Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning Notably *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc or abl , while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl , never the acc Also *pari* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings

ūrjo mā pāhy odṛcam MŚ *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcah* TS *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

anhasah, āsya yajñasyodṛcah VS ŚB *ā-udṛcah* (°*cam*) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice)' The variant *ūrjo* for *ūrdhvo* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160

orv antarikṣam ŚŚ *āsmāt sadhasthād oror antarikṣāt* TB ApŚ Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc, 'from' with abl Probably not true variants

ye jātās tanvas (PB °*vam*) *pari* RV MS PB ŚB TA 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)' 'who are born about (near) [her] body' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB has a mere corruption of the RV reading

3 Miscellaneous

§495. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply In not a few cases the variation is between *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871)

rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam ApŚ *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle' 'may he not wipe away the color from the form' ApŚ is a little less banal than MŚ

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV ApMB *janān*) *anu* RV AV ApMB In RV abl of source 'from the (malicious) folk,' *anu yanti*, 'follow' AV ApMB construe *anu* as postposition with acc *janān* Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV reading as compared with RV, we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 85 31 If there is a single case in which AV shows itself superior to RV in a variant reading, we do not know of it

ūvadhyam vātam (MS *vātāt*) *sabvam* (TB Poona ed *sabuvam*) *tad ārāt* VS MS KS TB Preceded by *apāmatim durmatim bādhamānāh* 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvam* is quite uncertain) Does MS *vātāt* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *ūvadhyam* and *sabvam*? Or is it to be taken as abl with *bādhamānāh*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor

divaś cid antād upamām (TA †*upa mām*, RV *antān upamān*) *ud ānaṭ* RV AV SV TA Some AV mss read *upa mām* with TA, and Whitney adopts this Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nahe' (adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er aufwarts,' which seems to imply *antān* The RV alone is easily interpretable 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven' The others perhaps 'even from the bounds of heaven he has attained unto me (? unto the highest)'

ta āvavṛtran sadanād ṛtasya (TS *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS * *sadanāni rātvī*) RV AV TS MS KS (bis) N 'They have turned hither from the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc)' Add to VV 2 §§421, 665

ṛudrasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB °*yam*, KS °*ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS °*patyat* is certainly intended, this is read not only in the p p but in the pratika 5 1 2 3, which see for the rather forced interpretation required by the form But for this we should assume that °*patyān* is acc pl, which is probably the intention of MS (whose p p would seem to read so, judging from the silence of von Schroeder, see §§526, 705)

antān pṛthivyā divaḥ TB ApŚ *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ Preceded by *yad ghā mah paryavartayat* (MŚ *paryāv*°) *pari-vṛt* caus probably = 'has brought hither' The TB ApŚ stanza is very obscure, its last half is different from that of MŚ

alebhānad ṛṣṭibhir yatudhānat RV *utārebhanan ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānān* AV Preceded by *utalabdham* (AV *utārabdhān*) *spṛnuhi jātavedaḥ* 'Win away, O J, him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized him with spears' So RV The secondary AV takes *spṛnuhi* zeugmatically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in *a*, but 'win' = 'conquer' in *b* 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer) the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears'

viduḥ pṛthivyā divo janitram (PB °*tra*) RV PB Followed by *sṛnvanty* (PB °*tv*) *apo adha* (PB *dhaḥ*) *kṣarantīḥ* RV 'they know the birthplace of earth and heaven' In PB *janitrad* would seem to be felt as abl of source with *kṣarantīḥ*, 'flowing from the birthplace' But this leaves *viduḥ* apparently without object Caland calls it incomprehensible and adopts the RV reading

yato (KS *yad id*, TS *yadī*) *bhumim janayan viśvakarmā* RV VS TS MS KS On KapŚ cf Oertel 16 For the abl pronoun KS (and TS) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions

§496 Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunderstandings or misquotations, are the following

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādanā* (TA °*nāt*) *te mınotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV † TA 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee' The TA reading (comm *sthāpananımittam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405)

jāmım ıtvā mā mıtsı lokān TA *jāmım ṛtvā māva patsı lokāt* AV The latter is original 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven' TA Poona ed *jāmı mıtvā lokāt* (v l *lokān*) The comm , tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc *lokam naıva lapsyası* In any case TA is scarcely interpretable See VV 2 §198 (besides §871)

yat tvemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *pratı tan no* (Kauś *pratı nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB On SMB see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted

[*yamād aham vaivasvatāt* RV *yan me yamam vaivasvatam* PB So Conc , but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB 1 5 18, which Caland identifies with RV 10 60 10 The truth is that PB 1 5 18 is a combination of RV 10 58 1ab with 10 60 10cd, when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation]

[*pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pıtryāvatah* KBU *tam ardhamāsam prasutān pıtryāvatah* JB Conc , but read *ardhamāsyam prasutāt pıtr°*, Oertel, *JAOS* 19 (2) 112, 115]

[*devānām vakṣı prıyam ā sadhastham* VS TS MS KSA Conc *sadhasthāt* for KSA]

4 Transfer of epithet

§497 Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching It is in any case clear that the acc forms of VS MS KS ŚB are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs of the preceding pāda, also that the abl forms of TS have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *ıtas*

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh TS *ṛtasya yonım mahıṣasya dhārām* VS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya dhārām mahıṣasya yonım* MS Preceded in all by *ıṣam ūrjam aham ıta ādam* (*ādade*, *ādı*)

§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15)

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV *prācīm avācīm ava yann arṣṭyai* TA The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV is attracted to the case of *avācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yuvatim* of pāda a

imam adhvānam yam agāma dūrāt (LŚ *dūram*) RV LŚ *yam adhvāham agāma dūram* AV Again the adverbial form of the original RV is made in AV LŚ into an adjective agreeing with *adhvānam*

anamitram no adharāt AV *anamitram me ṭadharāk* (KS *no adharāk*) VSK KS followed by

anamitram na uttarāt AV *anamitram udak kṛdhi* VSK KS Again the original has ablative adverbs This time the acc forms might also be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are adjectives going with *anamitram* 'Freedom from enemies (from) below, (from) above'

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śronī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV AV ApMB *yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV The original from the rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣmam*, 'of the rump' The verb is *vi vṛhāmi* In the text of AV there are in fact two such adjectives, synonyms, one is doubtless an ancient gloss (Whitney ad loc, and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47)

§499 We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15)

avatān mā vyathitam (VS ŚB *°tāt*) VS TS ŚB ApŚ *avatād vyathitam* MS KS ŚB 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'

avatān mā nāthitam (VS ŚB *°tāt*), same texts

CHAPTER XXII

ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

1 With verbs governing both cases

§500 Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases See in general Delbrück *AIS* 158 ff , our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbruck does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions, any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires

§501 Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ ApŚ certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

papuḥ sarasvatyā nadyāḥ (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ "They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvatī"

sa bhadram akar yo naḥ somam (AŚ *somasya*) *pāyayiṣyati* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

indra piba sutānam RV *imam indra sutam piba* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

yad indro apibac chacībhiḥ VS KS AB ŚB AŚ ApŚ *yasyendro apibac chacībhiḥ* KS *yam asyendro apibaṉ śacībhiḥ* MS

vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi TS ApŚ *vācaspatima te hutasyeṣe prāṇāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ *hutasya prasnāmīṣe prāṇaya*, ŚB *hutasyāśnāmy*) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

vasumadganasya upahūtasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi (MŚ *upahūta upahūtam bhakṣ°*) TS MŚ

tan me 'śīya HG *tasya te bhakṣīya* (ApMB *'śīya*) TS ApŚ ApMB

mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB *ajyam*, AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ The texts that have acc and those that have *jyotir* with gen must

mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter' Those with *jūtir* and gen may be construed in the same way (so Mahīdhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested, see Eggeling, *SBE* 12 215 n 1

lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā viyantu TS *salilah salilah salilah sagaras te na ādityā havirjo juṣānā vyantu svāhā* MS KS In the same context also passages beginning *ketah saketah* , see Conc

§502 Verbs of offering, cf Delbruck 160, where the gen construction with *hu* is noted for Brāhmana prose but not for RV, altho the RV version of the first variant seems a clear instance

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV *tasmā indrāya havişā* (TB *havir ā*) *juhota* MS TB See also §466, etc

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya havih (ApŚ MŚ *havişah*) *preşya* KŚ ApŚ MŚ Also *indrāgnibhyām chāyasya vapāyā medasah* (KŚ *vapām medah*) *preşya, indrā*³ *purodāśasya preşya* (KŚ *purodāśam*, supplying *preşya*), same texts And similar items containing *anu brūhi* instead of *preşya* We should render the first variant 'prompt (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni' The gen seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood, cf Schwab, *AITieropfer* 119 Otherwise Delbruck 161

apo (TS KS *udno*) *dattodadhim bhintta* (KS * KapS *dehy udadhim bhindhi*) VS TS MS KS KapS (Oertel 76) Cf §711, *apas* best taken as acc of plurale tantum stem *ap*

§503 Verbs of ruling

indro visvam virājati AA *indro višvasya rājati* SV VS AŚ Svidh

§504 Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbruck 158)

pra tad voced amrtasya (Ppp VS *amrtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amrtam nu*) *vidvān* AV Ppp VS TA 'Knowing immortality' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *vidvān* is used, obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc of the person and a gen of the thing In TB the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take *goh* as acc pl (!) as the TB comm seems to do

yad amuşnītam avasam panim gāh (TB *goh*) RV TB 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Pani of his cow(s)'

2 With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc varying with the gen after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas, cf Delbrück 181, Whitney 271h

mām anuvratā bhava HG ('be faithful to me') cf *agner* (AV *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtvā* AV TS KS TB MŚ ApMB Tho in different contexts, AV and HG both use the formula in the marriage ceremony

apaścādaghvānnasya (MS MŚ ApŚ *apaścāddaghvānnam*) *bhūyāsam* AV MS MŚ ApŚ 'May I not be failing of food'

śāntir no astu MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS The acc seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *śānti*, Mahīdhara *mā mām prati*

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dā'tā vasūni* from *dātā' vasūnām*, and according to Pān 3 2 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tár* a specific act The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory, see Wackernagel, *AIGr* 3 201, 597 We find one such variant pāda, the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterized as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts, in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant

dātā vasūnām puruhūto arhati TS *dātā vasūni vidadhe tanūpāh* MS TS accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS the first, which accords with the rule of accent The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhé* in MS since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence

3 Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc of the deity and instr of the offering varying with gen (or dat) of the deity and nom of the offering (see §126) We content ourselves here with two examples

andhāhīn (TS °*he*, KSA °*heh* but ms °*he*) *sthūlagudayā* (TS KSA *sthūragudā*, MS *sthūragudayā*) VS † TS MS † KSA '(We gratify) the blind-worms with the large intestines' 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms'

pūṣanam vanisṭhunā VS MS *pūṣno vanisṭhuh* TS KSA

4 Descriptive or possessive genitive . modifying accusative

§509 In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'appos-

tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend, see §85 The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same

avyo (SV PB *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* RV SV PB 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve)'

vṛṣṭim divah pavasva rītim apām (SV *apah*) RV SV 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV the stream, the waters)' In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apah* thus as an acc pl (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen sing

[*apāsya* (ApŚ *apāsman*) *nairṛtān pāśān,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśatam caye*, [*apāsya ye †sināh pāsāh,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśatam save* KS ApŚ Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāsyāh satvanah pāśān,*] *mṛtyūn ekaśatam nude* Kauś 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths)'

nāsām āmitro (TB *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV AV TB 'No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course)' TB comm takes *vyathir* (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 117 15) as a nom attribute of *amitro*, which is obviously absurd

ūrjo bhāgam pṛthivyā (KS ApŚ °*vīm*) *yāty* (KS *ety*, ApŚ *etv*) *āpṛnan* MS KS ApŚ 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth's lot with food' 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication, the acc is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āpṛnan*

agnim (VS ŚB *agner*) *jyotir nicāyya* [*pṛthivyā abhyābharat*] VS TS MS KS ŚB SvetU 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light'

somānam (SV °*nām*) *svaranam* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ N The SV is certainly worthless, on the crucial *somānam* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 18 1

§510 In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive

ava devānām yaja hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ In the last variant *hedyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc *devān* 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods'

pra samrājo (SV °*jam*) *asurasya praśastim* (SV °*tam*) RV SV KB Here too SV has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc noun of RV ('praise of the lord')

§511 Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms

ādityā rudrā uparispṛśo nah (KS °*śam mā*) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparispṛśam mā* RV VS TS '(Make) me a king' or 'make our king'

ā te agna idhīmahi RV SV TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *ā tvāgna idhīmahi* AV Kauś Followed by *dyumantam devājaram* This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (*ZDMG* 35 714 ff) as containing acc *te*, but see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* p 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives) AV has a lect fac , feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tvā*

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ Keith (AA 285 n 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc and gen after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī* He follows Sāyana in this Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahe* from *dhā*, *te* is then possessive gen with *rayim*, and *tam* also refers to *rayim*

devasya te (AG MG *tvā*) *savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām hastam grhnāmy asau* AG SMB GG MG 'At the command of god Savitar I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand)'

§512 In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther

tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB AŚ ApŚ *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (Conc reads *hāsīt* with one ms) MŚ *hāsīh* in MŚ may be kept 'desert not my life at the sacrifice'

§513 Sometimes the acc is the sole goal of the verb, either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen , or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc , §459) in the alternate form in which acc is substituted for gen

etam (GB *etasya*) *tvam prajanaya* AB GB The context is the same The pronoun refers apparently to the yajamāna, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukīrti (RV 10 131) and other hymns which follow (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-

understand AB) With the gen of GB is doubtless understood an acc of *ātman* and other parts of the yajamāna, specified in the sequel 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc]', or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him ' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible

ganān me mā vi tūṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*, Vait *vy arīriṣah*) TS Vait MŚ *ganair mā mā vi tūṛṣata* MS *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc)' 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst' 'let not my troops thirst '

§514 We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc

ye vā (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīṅr anu* (MS NīlarU *vanaspatīnām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB NīlarU ApMB 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees) '

5 Partitive genitive modifying accusative

§515 Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc , as with other cases (§84)

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me (TB *kṣatriyānām*) AV TB Kauś 17 28 (only pratīka in Kauś 14 24) 'Increase this kṣatriya for me' 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas ' TB comm *kṣatriyānām madhye*

imam mā hinsīr ekaśapham (also, *dvipādam*) *paśum* (TS KS *paśūnām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals) '

vīrudham (AV °*dhām*) *balavattamām* (AV * °*mah*) RV AV (bis) ApMB 'Most mighty herb (of herbs) '

atho jīva śaradah śatam VSK *adhā jīvema śaradāṃ śatāni* AV Others similar, see Conc

§516 The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography

ojiṣṭhaś carṣanīsahām (TB °*sahān*) VS TB Preceded by *divo varṣman samidhyate*, and followed by *vetv ājyasya* 'Upon the height of heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men, let him taste the butter ' An acc is quite impossible, yet both edd and the comm have the same reading in TB The comm seems to regard the acc as equivalent to a partitive gen *tān uddiśya teṣām* (*devānām*) *madhye* Final *m* and *n* before *v* in the Veda might both be pronounced alike, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283c),

thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB may have incorrectly restored *n* instead of *m* This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly *m*, not *n*

§517. In a few others an acc direct object varies with a partitive gen depending on a relative word

yat tvā (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (AV *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ In KS 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected' The others 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'

yat tvā (ApŚ *te*) *śikvah parāvadhīt* AV ApŚ Followed by *takṣā hastena vāsyā* 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off ' 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off '

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched' 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment' On HG see §144

6 Phrase inflection

§518 Phrase inflection (§§21–2) occurs in the following

bhindhi darbha sapatnānām (*sapatnān me*) AV (both) Initial pādas of consecutive verses, different constructions required by what follows

kṛtyākṛtam valagınam AV *kṛtyākṛto valagınah* AV Different contexts

sumatim satyadharmanah (TS ApMB *satyarādhasah*, VS *satyarādhasam*, AV *visvarādhasah*, AŚ *vājınīvatah*) AV VS TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB N The VS form is in a different context

7 Miscellaneous

§519 There remain a considerable number of variants between acc and gen which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought.

indrasya vāyoh (SV *vāyum*) *sakhyāya kartave* (SV *vardhayan*) RV SV 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu' 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra'

sakṛd yat tvā (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS °*bham*) *āśayat* TS KS The word *garbha* shifts in meaning, 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb'

vājo nah (MS *me*, KS *mā*) *sapta pradisah* VS TS MS KS Followed by *catasro vā parāvatah*, *vājo no* (MS KS *mā*) *viśvair devair, dhana-*

sātāv (°*tā*) *ihāvatu* KS makes the pronoun in pāda a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mā* in pāda c, MS makes it possessive gen with *vājo*, the others, with *nah*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way

rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām (TS °*mānasya santu*) AV TS MS MŚ 'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's)'

[*yo adya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrati*] *viṣūkuham iva dhanvanā* [*vyasyāh paripanthinam sadasaspataye namah*] AŚ [*yo 'dya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrate*] *viṣūkuhasya dhanvanā* ['*pa tān varuno dhamat*] PB The obscure word *viṣūkuh*(*a*) seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LŚ 3 11 3 This makes PB (rendered by Caland ' blow them away by means of the bow of Viṣūkuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V is a friendly power AŚ thus seems more plausible But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence

tad āsata (Ppp N *atrāsata*) *ṛṣayah sapta sākam* AV Ppp N *tasyāsata ṛṣayah* (TS TAA °*sate harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB BṛhU TAA In AV *tad* is direct complement of *āsate*, in place of the more usual loc (cf BR s v 2 *ās*, 1), the loc *tīre* has this construction in the other texts, and *tasya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it 'Sit upon it (its bank) ' Ppp and N have the loc adverb *atra* instead

apām na yanty ūrmayah RV *apo nayanta ūrmayah* SV Preceded by *pra somāso vipaścitah* RV 'the somas rush forth like waves of water' SV by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the somas, (as, i e in) waves, carry forth the waters'

imam rātam (SV *asya ratau*) *sutam piba* RV SV In RV *imam rātam* agrees with *sutam*, in SV *rātau* is a different word from *rātam* 'at this man's offering'

dhīnām antah sabardughah RV *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV We take it that *dhīnām* depends on *sabardughah*, *antah* being an adverb That SV is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhenām*, on the final syllable, but doubtless *dhenām* (dependent on *antah*) was meant Even the RV passage is obscure, for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* ad loc

ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB *apasas*, but Gaastra *apas*) *pari* RV GB See VV 2 §810

8 Transfer of epithet

§520 Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following In the first group there is no change of gender or number

amanmahi mahata (MS KS *mahad*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS MS KS TB The gen agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc with *nāma*

manyum janasya dūdhyah (SV °*yam*) RV SV KS 'The wrath of the evil-minded man' 'the evil-minded wrath of man' The ed of KS has *manyam*, doubtless by misprint

bṛhaspatisutasya ta (KS omits *ta*) *indo* (*inda*) *indriyāvatah patnīvantam* (KS °*vato*) *graham gṛhnāmi* (MS *rādhyāsam*, KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS MS KS *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta indor* (*inda*) *indriyāvatah patnīvato grahān ṛdhyāsam* VS VSK ŚB *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS MS, *te* (unexpressed) in KS and probably *te* in VS VSK ŚB (so Eggeling, otherwise BR)

pāñcajanyasya bahudhā yam indhate AV *yam pāñcajanyam bahavah sam indhate* TS MS KS In the YV texts *pāñca*° is drawn into agreement with *yam*, which refers to Agni, in AV it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same

praharṣinam madirasya made mṛṣāsā astv atha tvā hoṣyāmi KS *praharṣino madirasya made mṛṣāsāv astu* ApŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *praharṣino*, and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *tvā*, which would be necessary if we keep the text

§521 The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as case

vasum (SV TS *vasoh*) *sūnum sahaso jātavedasam* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS 'Good son of strength' 'son of good strength' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasoh* The preceding pāda is *agnim hotāram manye dāsvantam*, Benfey and Keith make *vasoh* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahaso* 'son of good(s), of strength'

vasumatas (VS ŚB °*matīm agne*) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS MS ŚB 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni)'

śardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS ApŚ 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i e flames) as thou burnest' 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning' For ApŚ cf VV 1 §27

pātho (Ppp ŚŚ *pātam*, TS *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni* (AV *guhyasya*) *nāma* AV Ppp TS MS KS ŚŚ 'Ye protect (etc) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts, AV seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*° agree with *ghṛtasya* 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name'

indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupāvaharāmi (VSK *vām bāhū vīryakṛtā upā°*) VS VSK ŚB 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra)' Also *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāvaharāmi* TB (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed)

parīmam yajamānam rāyo manuṣyānām VS ŚB *parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS See §§402 etc

§522 There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version, in both either gender or number varies as well as case

āṅgūṣānām avāvaśanta vānīḥ RV *aṅgoṣṇam avāvaśanta vānīḥ* SV In RV, 'the music of the hymns', in SV an epithet of Soma (*vṛṣaṇam*) has been extracted from the genitive

paramam padam ava bhāti (VS ŚB *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreḥ*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Preceded by *atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ* (RV N *vṛṣṇaḥ*) In the original *bhūri* is best taken as an adverb 'The bull's (Viṣnu's) highest footstep shines down mightily' TS makes the word an epithet of *viṣṇoḥ* 'of mighty Viṣnu'

CHAPTER XXIII

ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

Acc and loc of goal

§523 By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used Many interpreters try to distinguish between them Thus Delbruck, *AIS* 122, says that the loc is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u s w handelt, wahrend in den A das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z B *deveṣu gachati* er geht unter die Gotter, aber *devān gachati* er geht zu den Gottern hin' Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc of goal at all Thus Whitney on AV 6 48 1–3 renders *svasti ma sam vahāsya yajñasyodṛci svahā* 'carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering', whereas it obviously means 'carry me prosperously to the end of this rite' (cf Bloomfield *JAOS* 16 3, 23), this would be clear even without the ŚŚ variant *svasti mā sampārayāsya yajñasyodṛcam*, with acc instead of loc Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV 7 40 1b *yasya vrata upatiṣṭhanta āpah* 'in whose course stand the waters', to avoid recognizing the loc of goal (all the parallel texts *vratam*!) Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-sthā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand') Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter'

§524 In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc to be substantially equivalent to an acc Take for instance the variant *sūryasyaṛkā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS KS *niṣkṛtāni*) TS MS KS PG We shall not stress the fact that MS KS, generally the older and better YV texts, have the acc, after all, even if TS PG are secondary, they may

quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG and TS) But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the pāda *triṅśat svasāra upayanti niṣkṛtam*, with the acc *niṣkṛtam* in all alike To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS PG mean by *carati niṣkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati niṣkṛtam* in MS KS Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation

§525 While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbruck may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters, we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc and loc Special attention may be called here to the pāda *vayānsi ya avivesa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KŚ ApŚ , in which the acc *vayānsi* and the loc *mṛgeṣu* occur in two precisely parallel phrases, surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them

1 With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526 We begin with verbs meaning something like 'go, enter, mount', and list first cases in which the acc and loc seem most nearly akin in meaning

svasti mā sam vahasya yajñasyodṛcı svāha AV *svasti mā sampārayasya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ See §523

yasya vratam (RVKh Scheftelowitz, Ppp KS °*te*) *paśavo yanti sarve* RVKh AV Ppp TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ 'Into whose control go all cattle ' Cf next

yasya vratam (AV *vrata*) *upatiṣṭhanta āpah*, same texts, immediately after preceding See §523

tiṣṭha ratham (TB *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB °*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB 'Mount upon (*adhi-stha*) this chariot '

endrasya jaṭhare (SV °*ram*) *viśa* RV SV 'Enter the belly of Indra'

svo ruhānā adhi nākam uttamam (TS † MS † KS *nāka uttame*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky' The verb is *adhi-ruh*

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS MS KS ŚB *rohayainam*, TA *rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

akṣaram brahma sammitam TA TAA MahānU *akṣare brahmasammite* MG Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG *āyāhi viraje devi*)

ya āviṣṭo vayasu (Ppp *yo viṣṭo vayasi*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV Ppp *vayāṃsi ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS ApŚ See §525

ā mitrāvarunā bhagam RV *ā mitre varune bhage* SV Followed by *madhvah* (*madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* The SV comm reads accs like RV, and Benfey renders 'In Mitra fliessen'

viśo-viśah pravivāsam īmahe AV *viśvasyām viśi pravivisivānsam* (KS † *pravivisānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS

prānāpānayor (ŚG °*nā*) *uruvyacās tayā* (ŚG *tvayā*, so AG must intend, and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG ŚG 'I take refuge with (flee to) prāna and apāna with thee'

upa dyām upa vetasam AV Vait *upa jmann upa vetase* VS TS MS KS ŚB The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following pāda in all but AV Vait TS, and in these some such verb is understood

yajñam dadhānāh (ApŚ *vidānāh*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ *loke*) KS ApŚ Preceded by *te yantu prajānantah*

purīṣam vasānah sukṛtasya loke (MS KS *lokam*) VS MS KS ŚB *purīṣam vasānah svām yonim yathāyatham* ApŚ Preceded in MS KS ApŚ, followed in VS ŚB, by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve paretāh* The acc is certainly one of goal of motion Mahīdhara on VS rightly takes *loke* as loc of goal, Griffith and Eggeling construe it with *vasānah* as loc of situation They also, most violently and against Mahīdhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loke* and make it depend on *purīṣam*

rudrasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB °*patyam*, KS °*patye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's troop' VS ŚB KS, on TS MS see §§495, 705

keṣv (LŚ *kim svid*) *antah puruṣa ā viveśa* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

sudughendre (MS °*dram*, p p °*dre*) †*sarasvatī* VS MS Followed by *aśvinā bhiṣajāvatam* (VS °*tah*) See Neisser's illuminating treatment of *av* (*ZWbch d RV*, s v), which establishes the fact that it

is fundamentally a verb of motion This receives new support from our variant, where the loc can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc of goal 'strive towards Indra'

§527 In the next group the loc can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases

sūryasyaikā caratı nıṣkṛteṣu (MS KS *nıṣkṛtānı*) TS MS KS PG See §524

vıṣnū agan varunā pūrvahūtau (MS °*hūtım*) VS MS ŚB ŞB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'It has gone to Vişnu and Varuna, to (at) the first oblation' The generally old and primary MS may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others, yet the loc of situation is possible A still different interpretation of *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comms on SB and TB, which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *vişnū varunā*

anāgā devāh śakuno gṛheşu (AV *gṛham nah*) RV AV Ppp MG Preceded by *śivah kapota işito no astu* 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods' So essentially Grassmann, taking *gṛheşu* closely with *işito*, the AV supports this But Ludwig 'im Hause'

divas (*divah*) *prştham* (PB *prşthe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *sumanmabhih* RV PB TA ApŚ Preceded by *vaiśvānarah pratnathā nākam āruhat* (PB *āruha*) In the original *prştham* is acc of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam* In PB *prşthe* could be so construed, as loc of goal, but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānah*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven'

satyadharmāno adhvaram (TS °*re*) RV TS *vāmam prayaty adhvare* VS MS ŚB Preceded in RV by *rtadhītaya ā gata*, in the others by *ā vo devāsa īmahe* RV 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes' The loc may also be one of goal 'we come to you to the sacrifice' But a loc of situation is also possible, not indeed with *satyadharmāno*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless *adhvare* (Whitney 314d), but rather 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance' Cf also (*kavim agnim upa stuhi*) *satyadharmānam adhvare*, in a different context, here the loc is clearly one of situation

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV VS TB *prātaryāvabhir adhvare* SV See the whole verse, quoted §415 The acc is certainly one of goal

with *prātaryāvāno* 'coming betimes to the offering' The loc may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with *ā sīdatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'

devasya savituḥ save (SV *savam*) RV AV SV TS etc etc This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc of situation 'at the instigation of God Savitar' The acc *savam* occurs once in SV, in a verse found also in AŚ ŚŚ Vait, all of which read *save*, it is preceded by *āvir maryā ā vājam vājino agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ ŚŚ °*gān*) *arvanto jayema* (*jayatah, jayata*) Clearly SV has acc of goal with *agman* ' have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense 'at the instigation of ' Cf next

tasya pūṣā prasave (TS °*vam*) *yāti vidvān* (TS KS *devah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Similar to preceding

antarikṣe (KS °*kṣam*) *viṣṇur* (MS *viṣnur antarikṣe*) *vyakramsta* VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ · *traiṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame* TS 'Viṣnu strode thru (durchschritt, or, strode forth in) the atmosphere' Similar formulas with *dišo* (*dikṣu*), *pṛthivīm* (°*vyām*), *divam* (*dim*), and different meter names See also *deva viṣṇa uru adyāsmin* , §549

§528 In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc of goal and loc of situation, in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct

priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda* (VSK TS TB ApŚ * *priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis) *sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada āsīda* (VSK *priyena nāma* [for *nāmnā?*] *priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK ŚB It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *sad* is here construed each time with loc, the compound *ā-sad* with acc Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc, instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon' It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527, but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant

yāv (MS *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanāni viśvā* (TB *bhuvanasya madhye*) AV MS TB 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe)'

ukṣā bibharti bhuvanāni (SV ArS *mimeti bhuvaneṣu*) *vājayuh* RV SV ArS

jīvam (ApMB *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayante adhvare* (AV *nayanty adhvaram*) RV AV ApMB The AV clearly has a lect fac, but the original is quite obscure in meaning, cf Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411–9, Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc

antarikṣasya tvā sānāv avagūhāmi (KS °*kṣasya sānūpeṣa*) TS KS ApŚ · *divaḥ sānūpeṣa* MS MŚ The MS p p absurdly divides *sānū, peṣa*, von Schroeder rightly understands *sānu, upa-iṣa*, 'zu des Himmels Rücken strebe auf'

§529 The following case is like those of the last section in that *agram* is acc of goal with *rohatah*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc of situation with *krīdatah*, it receives separate rubrication because it leads over to the next following group

agram vṛkṣasya rohatah VS TS MS KSA ŚB TA *agre vṛkṣasya krīdatiḥ* (VSK ŚŚ *krīḷ*°) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

2 Adverbial acc loc

§530 In another group of variations between these two forms *agram* and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt as expressions of the goal In some instances, at any rate, it seems hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning' or the like

agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim dhatta TS *agra imam adya yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātum yajñapatim devayuvam* VS *agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapatim* MS 'Lead forward this sacrifice' But here, with the verb *nayata*, the word may be felt as 'to the front'

ahnām ketur uṣasām ety (AV † *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*) RV AV TS MS KS N Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be present in the acc form, at least 'As banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawns'

jayantīnām maruto yantv agram (TS *agre*, AV MS KS *yantu madhye*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS 'Let the Maruts go at (to?) the front of the conquering armies'

tena devā devatām agra (VS MS KS *agram*) *āyan* AV VS KS MS *tapasā* (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS TB TA MahānU 'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning' Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly be anything but an adverb

āgnir agra (SV *agram*) *uṣasām aśoci* RV SV Perhaps motion is felt in the verb *ā-śuc* 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of the dawns'

§531 Similarly *dūram* or *dūre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved
bādhasva (AV *bādhethām*) *dūre* (AV *dūram*, TS Ppp *dveṣo*) *nirṛtim parācaiḥ* RV AV Ppp TS 'Drive perdition afar off'

§532 We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc and loc, in a pāda where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal
ye arvāñ madhya (TA omits *madhya*) *uta vā purānam* (TA °*ne*) AV TA 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times'

3 With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dhā*)

§533. The root *dhā* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc of the person and the loc of the thing ('set, establish in'), or with the dat of the person and acc of the thing ('establish for', 'give to'), see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms
svargam me lokam yajamānāya dheḥi Vait *svarge loke yajamānam hi dheḥi* (or, *dheḥi mām*) TB ApŚ

§534 We find also several variants in which, after *dhā*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc or loc, while the person is expressed by the pronoun *naḥ*, which might be either dat or acc It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat in the variant containing acc of the thing, and as an acc in the form with loc of the thing 'set us in' or 'establish for us' It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized, so that *naḥ* with acc of the thing might be taken as an acc (something like 'set us unto')
indraṛṣabhā dravine (MS °*nam*) *no dadhātu* AV MS
sa naḥ pāvako dravinam (AV °*ne*) *dadhātu* AV TS MS KS KŚ
sā no bhūmiḥ pūrvapeye (MS °*yam*) *dadhātu* AV MS

§535 As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative That is, instead of the loc of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an acc is used
sutrāmendre (MS °*ram*) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB Followed by *balam na vācam āsya uṣābhyām dadhur indriyam* This, it seems, can only mean ' have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth ' It may be however that MS has been influenced by the following verse, a variant of this one, in which *avardhayan* (with acc) replaces *dadhuḥ* Similarly, in the same passage

bhiṣajendre (MS °*ram*) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB Followed by *prāṇam dadhur* See prec

ut sakthyā (ŚŚ °*yor*) *ava gudam* (TS KSA ApŚ *sakthyor gṛdam*) *dheht* VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ *adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dheht* Vait

rathamtaram sāma (also *vairājam, vairūpam*, and *bṛhat sāma*, and *śākvararaivate sāmanī*) *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS °*kṣam*, TS °*ṣṭhityai*, om *antarikṣe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB A verb like *stabhnātu* is supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS *antarikṣam* can only be construed as an acc of remoter goal 'let the Rathamtara sāman (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere'

ā gharme (AŚ °*mam*) *siñca paya usriyāyāh* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'Pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' *ā-sic* is here construed as a verb of placing

§536 The compound *sam-dhā*, as a verb of joining, is construed either with acc and instr, or acc and loc, it is the loc form which varies with the acc in the following variant, on which see §462

añgāny ātman (MS *añgair ātmānam*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS MS KS TB Followed by *ātmānam añgaih samadhāt sarasvatī*

§537 A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal shift between loc and acc forms

varṣīyo (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatim dhāh* VS TS ŚB *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatau dhāh* MS KS Addressed to the atmosphere 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the sacrifice' In such rigmarole the inversion of terms makes little difference

asmin yajñe yajamanāya sūrim AV *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau* ApŚ See §488 Neither reading is intelligible, but the reciprocal interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to that in the preceding The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApŚ, *pari nayāmi* in AV

§538 Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology of the variation seems to be different

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣapitṛbhya* (AV *dakṣam pi*°) *āyuni* (AV *āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the pitṛs (wealth to the Dakṣapitṛs), and long lives (in [respect to?] their life)' Neither the acc *āyūnṣi* (complementary object), nor (apparently) the loc *āyuni* (tho its meaning is not very clear), can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad*

4 With various prepositions

§539 There are a few variants involving acc and loc after various prepositions In the first, with *adhi*, the verb is *dadhāti*, 'assigns', possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc in SV

nāma tṛtīyam adhi rocane (SV °*nam*) *divah* RV SV '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven'

§540 Similarly in the next, we find in SV an isolated use of the loc with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV verb of motion (*ajanti*) is replaced in SV by *mṛjanti* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc

ajanti vahnim sadanāny acha RV *mṛjanti vahnim sadaneṣv acha* SV 'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats'

§541 A third variant shows *antarā* with acc and loc, only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apah suvah (MG °*pṛthivyor apasyuh*) TB ApMB HG MG

§542 Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc, *adhi* with loc

ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu (KS *pṛthivyām adhi*) RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth'

5 With other verbs than those of motion

§543 Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases Thus, *sam-vad* 'converse (about), discuss' governs either In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc loc of the person spoken to ('goal' of speech), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion In the later language these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc is perhaps hardly to be found

pratiprasthātah paśau (MŚ *paśum*) *samvadasva* ApŚ MŚ 'Pratiprasthātar, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer)'

§544 Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen (§501), the loc varying with the acc

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §501

prajāvatīh sūyavasam (AV °*se*) *rušantīh* (RV and TB comm *riś*°) RV AV TB See VV 2 §627 on *rušantīh* TB comm explains by

bhakṣayantīḥ, so also AV comm, tho it reads *ruś°* 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage'

§545 A verb of beating

āghnānāḥ pāṇinorasi AV *urah paṭaurāv āghnānah* AV 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands' 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)'

§546 A verb of conquering is construed with a loc or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative

tvayā (omitted in VSK TS KS TB) *vayam saṃghātam saṃghātam* (VSK *saṃghāte-saṃghāte*, TS TB omit one *saṃghātam*) *jeṣma* (KS **jayema*, and †**saṃjayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB TB 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight'

§547 The root *ruc* (*rocate*, *ruruce*) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accus except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc ('shine forth light' or the like) The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc, 'on the earth', but KS substitutes an acc (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative) 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn'

kṣāmaṃ (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS KS *ketunā*) RV VS TS MS KS

6 Locative absolute and accusative

§548 Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute

nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (TS *samidhānam agnim*, MS KS °*no agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *rayaspoṣāya bṛhate havāmahe* 'When Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)' 'We call upon Agni enkindled etc' On MS KS see §§393, 450

saṃsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *saṃsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS See §607, loc abs in the secondary MS, *yudha(h)* object of the agent noun *saṃsraṣṭā*

yā svapantam bodhayati (HG *svapatsu jagarti*) ApMB HG '(The she-demon) who awakens the sleeper' 'who wakes while people sleep'

7 Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved

havişā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaih*) VS MS KS TB See the passage, discussed §473 TB has assimilated *yajñe* to *indriyam*

devāv aśvinau madhukaśayādyemam yajñam (ApŚ °*kaśayādyāsmin yajñe*) *yajamānāya mimikṣatam* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O divine Aśvins, with the honey-whip mingle (?besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*' Only the acc seems sensible, ApŚ seems to leave the verb objectless, 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice' It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ uses acc forms instead of the locs of the other texts! Thus

deva viṣṇa urv adyāsmin yajñe (ApŚ *viṣnav urv adyemam yajñam*) *yajamānāyādhi* (ApŚ °*yānu*) *vikramasva* (MŚ *yajamānāya vikramasva*), same texts Here, to be sure, the loc as well as the acc may be defended, with *vi-kram*, cf §530 above But in the next the acc seems as impossible as the loc in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way

devy adite svādityam adyāsmin yajñe yajamānāyāsuvasva (ApŚ *adite 'nv adyemam yajñam yajamānāyadhi*), same texts

8 Miscellaneous

§550 The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages

dyumnam vṛnīta puṣyase RV VS TS MS ŚB *dyumnam* (and *dyumne*) *vareta puṣyatu* KS (both) 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper' 'let him choose glory, let him prosper' 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper'

vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu (SV *āyūnṣi*) RV SV The pple is intransitive in RV but transitive in SV

lokam pitṛṣu vittvā AV *pitṝn hy atra gachāsi* TA 'Having found a place among the fathers' 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers'

sā śamtāti (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ °*ti*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ 'She made (for me) blissful (*śamtāti*) joy (joy in bliss)' We should expect *śamtātim*, 'bliss'

upa tvā kāma īmahe sasṛjmahe SV *upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛjmahe* RV AV

niṣkā ime (AV *ete*, MŚ *hy ete*) *yajamānasya bradhne* (MŚ °*nam*, AV *loke*) AV TB ApŚ MŚ 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven, TB comin the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice)', in MŚ preceded by *darbhaih stṛnīta* , *bradhnam* being

object of this verb 'Strew with darbha-grasses —for these are jewels—the sun (-heaven) of the sacrificer' Caland strangely takes *bradhne* as nom pl (adjective with *niṣkāḥ*[1])

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāṭ (TS TB *yonim svāhā*) VS TS ŚB TB *sudhīn yonīn suṣadām pṛthivīm* (ms °*vī*) *svāhā* KS Preceded by *aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu* (KS *kṛdhi*), Conc quotes the whole mantra of KS under this We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*, Keith assumes *suṣadām*, which is supported by KS (but note there also *pṛthivī* in the ms[1]) 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in' On the loss of anusvāra cf VV 2 §307 It looks as if VS ŚB, starting from TS 's reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc of an unknown **susadi*, and changed to *yonau* to match it

samudre yasya rasām id āhuḥ AV *yasya samudram* (Ppp MS KS *sam*° *yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuḥ* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS See §463

cakṣus cit sūrye sacā RV *cakṣuṣā sūryam dṛśe* SV See §474

tayā devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuḥ TS KSA TB *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS MS See §419

dṛṃhasva pṛthivyām VS KS ŚB *dṛṃha pṛthivīm* PB 'Be firm on earth' 'make firm the earth' Contexts are identical

āvartanam nivartanam RV AV *āvartane vivartane* TB ApŚ The forms are differently construed, cf Caland's note on ApŚ The latter form of the verse is radically altered

revatī predhā yajñapatim āvisa MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā āvisa* VS † ŚB † *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāvisata* TS ApŚ 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer' 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him)'

upa ṛṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ*°) *retasi* (AV *yad retah*), followed by *upendra tava vīrye* (AV °*yam*) RV AV TB LŚ The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV 9 4 23) The verb is *upa prcyatām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV, which reads *upa prīca*, thus we take as active, and hence construe *yad retah* and *vīryam* as acc, not nom with Whitney If we are right, the acc -loc variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533–8

9 Corruptions

§551 The following seem clearly corrupt

sīrṣnā śiro 'psāpso ardayan AV *sīrṣnā śiro* (ApŚ *girau*) *vakṣasā vakṣa ejayan* KS ApŚ The blunder of ApŚ, the uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV 8 45 5 *girāv apso na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v

apsas The variant should be added to VV 2 §§153a (*apsas vakṣas*, synonyms), 360, 732

ya ājagma (N °*muḥ*) *savane mā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Whitney renders AV (p p *savane*, *mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *savane 'mā* (°*nā* + *imā*), which the comm reads So also Conc

ime catvāro rajaso vimānāḥ (MŚ °*ne*) KS MŚ Other versions of the pāda (see Conc) all end with *devayānāḥ* All Knauer's mss read *vimāno*, for this K emends °*ne*, 'im Dunstkreis ' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāḥ*

10 Transfer of epithet

§552 Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc and loc involve also change of number or gender

amuṣya tvā prane (ŚB KŚ *prāṇam*) *sadayāmi* TS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya prāṇe sādayami* MS In ŚB KŚ *prāṇam* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā* 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so,' cf the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prāṇam apidadhāmi* These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prāṇam* appositional to *tvā* The others 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so '

ni tad dadhiṣe 'varam param (AV * Ppp *'vare pare*) *ca* RV AV (bis) Ppp Followed by *yasminn āvithāvasa durone*

abhi yonim ayohatam (SV VS °*te*) RV SV VS Followed by *drone* (RV *drunā*) *sadhastham āsadat* (RV *asnuṣe*) The adjective is switched from *yonim* to *drone*

varūthyam (SV °*ye*) *varune chandyam vacaḥ* RV SV

[*yasyām karmāṇi kurvate* (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ *yāni karmāṇi cakrire* AV Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV *ye*) *vaḥ prathamā* Obscure, the forms of pāda a are neut pl , going with *karmāni*, so that AV *yani* really corresponds to KS ApŚ *yā* of pāda a, AV *ye* of pāda a of course goes with the subject What *yasyām* refers to is not evident AV p p mss have *anāptā* but *prathamāḥ*, the latter would be possible, going with the subject]

§553 What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in

yatrainān (AG Kauś SMB HG MG *yatraitān*) *vettha nihitān parāke*

(SMB *parācah*) VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG *parācah* with *etān*, *parāke* adverbial, 'far away'

ā te vācam āsyām (HG *āsyā*) *dade* HG ApMB *tām te vācam āsya ādatte* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG Followed in HG ApMB by *ā* (HG om.) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* Kirste suggests *āsyād*, more likely *āsyām* is intended, with one ms., as in ApMB If PG is original ('in the mouth'), then HG ApMB have made *āsye* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*, cf *manasyām* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas*

atheme anya upare vicakṣanam (AV °*ne*) RV AV PraśU Followed by *saptacakre ṣaḍara āhur arpitam* In the original *vicakṣanam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur* AV stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line Ppp as RV

§**554** Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15)

imam ratam (SV *asya rātau*) *sutam piba* RV SV 'Drink this presented soma' 'drink the soma at this man's offering'

agnim īde pūrvacittim (TS °*cittau*) *namobhiḥ* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion (TS, at the first devotion)'

11 Phrase inflection

§**555** Occurs once

ṛtasya pade (RV **padam*) *kavayo ni pānti* RV (both) TA JUB The pāda with the loc is preceded by an object *manīṣām*, different contexts

CHAPTER XXIV

INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

A *Instrumental and dative*

1 As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556 With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental Thus *sam tam siñcatu rādhase* RV Vait , 'may he pour it (*anśu*, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS ApŚ (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *sam tat siñcatu rādhasā*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously) ' The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common, correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty ' The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function

§557 In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative

kratvā varisṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV Preceded in all by *jajanuś ca rājase* In RV *kratvā* seems best taken with *varisṭhari*, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)', yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended ') Certainly the dative of SV must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to *rājase* 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power '

suvargeyāya (VSK *svar°*, VS MS KS ŚB *svargyāya*) *śaktyā* (TS °*yai*, MS *śaktaye*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might '

āpa undantu jīvase (AV *varcasā*, AG *varcase*) AV TS KS AG ŚG

SMB GG ApMB HG MG 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor)' In most texts including AV a dative phrase, *dīrghāyutvāya cakṣase* or *varcase*, occurs in the vicinity Delete in Conc the AG reference for *dpa un° jīvase*

prajāpates tvā (°*teṣ tvā*) *prāṇenābhiprāṇimi pūṣṇaḥ poṣena* (MŚ *poṣāya*) *mahyam dīrghāyutvāya* TB ApŚ MŚ 'I breathe upon thee with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity, unto long life'

pra no rāyā parīṇasā (SV *rāye panīyase*) RV SV KB Followed by *ratsi vājāya panthām* 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength'

§558 In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case

tam hi svarājam vṛṣabham tam ojase (SV *ojasā*) RV SV AV Followed by *dhiyane niṣṭatakṣatuḥ* 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength'

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (TB ApŚ *vī jāya*, AV *vīryāni*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU See §474

saptarṣayas tapase (AV °*sā*) *ye niṣeduḥ* RV AV

sarasvaty asunod indriyāya (LŚ °*yena*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength'

vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (TS MS ApŚ MŚ *ūtyā*) AV VS TS MS KS AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Followed by *ā pra yātu parāvataḥ* 'Unto (with) aid'

rāye (TB ApŚ *revaj*) *jātaḥ sahase* (TB ApŚ °*sā*) *vṛddhaḥ* KS TB ApŚ 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength'

tās tvā devīr (AV om *devīr*, SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °*sā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG *vyayasva*) AV SMB PG HG ApMB MG 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age' On PG see VV 1 §70

ā mā somo amṛtatvena (TS °*tvāya*) *gamyāt* VS TS MS KS ŚB

anāgasam brahmaṇā (TB HG ApMB °*ṇe*) *tvā kṛṇomi* (TB HG ApMB *karomi*) AV TB HG ApMB 'I make thee guiltless by my charm', AV For *brahmaṇe* Oldenberg on HG says 'before the Brahman', rather something like 'unto holiness' or 'holy power' TB comm *parivṛdhāya jātakarmādisaṃskārāya*

tena te vapāmi brahmaṇā (MG °*my āyuṣe*, ApMB °*my asāv āyuṣā varcasā*) VSK SMB PG ApMB MG *tena ta āyuṣe vapāmi* AG *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB In the texts which have *āyuṣe* or *āyuṣā*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals

tenāsmai yajamānāyoru (MS KS *yajñapataya uru*) *rāye* (TS *rāyā*) *kṛdhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth'

apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB °*tac chivena*, HG *abhyapatac chivāya*) AV ApMB HG

apām uta prasastiṣu (RV † *praśastaye*, AV VSK °*tibhiḥ*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājinaḥ* 'Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong' Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference

śatam bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ (SV VS * *ūtaye*) RV AV SV VS (bis, add in Conc SV 2 34c, VS 27 41c, with *ūtaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ

kāmena (TS MS *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS om *prati*) *gṛhnāmi* AV TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'I receive thee with (unto) affection'

maghavañ (°*van*) *chagdhi tava tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV PB TB TA ApŚ *ūtaye*) RV AV SV PB TB TA MahānU ApŚ

yam mitram na praśastibhiḥ (SV °*taye*) RV SV Followed by *martāso dadhire purah* 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise'

iha priyam prajayā (AV *prajāyai*) *te sam ṛdhyatām* RV AV AG ApMB

sadā pāhy abhiṣṭaye (°*ṭibhiḥ*) RV (both) See *RVRep* on 1 129 9

vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ (SV °*taye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ 'May we win by (unto) thy aid'

atho ariṣṭatātaye (RV * AV * °*tibhiḥ*) RV * AV * PB

§559 Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigmarole in such instances Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following, here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form

pretnā dharmanā (MS *pretyā dharmane*) *dharmam jinva* VS MS This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomabhāga bricks 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness' VS (and ŚB) vary between dat and instr in different formulas of the series, MS has the dative consistently thruout To the same group belong *samdhināntarikṣenāntarikṣam* (MS *samdhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣam*) *jinva* VS MS *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS *vṛṣṭyai*) *vṛṣṭim jinva* VS MS *anvityā divā* (MS *dive*) *divam jinva* VS MS ŚB *pravayāhnā* (MS *pravayāhne*) *'har jinva* VS MS *pratidhina pṛthivyā* (MS °*vyai*) *pṛthivīm jinva*

VS MS , and others Cf *anvitir asi dive tvā divam jinva* TS KS GB TB Vait , and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS MS , they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS

śukram te śukrena gṛhnāmi TS KS ApŚ *śukram tvā śukra sukrāya gṛhnāmi* MS MŚ 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?)' 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

svāhā marudbhiḥ (MS °*bhyaḥ*) *pariśrayasva* (VS ŚB °*śrīyasva*) VS MS ŚB 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts ' The comms on VS and ŚB , where the verse is addressed to the chief cauldron (*mahāvīra*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra Maruts = king *viśah*

2 With expressions of uniting

§560 A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf §59)

susambhṛtā (MŚ °*te*) *tvā sam bharami* TS TB ApŚ MŚ 'I unite thee with (unto) good union '

ayakṣmāya tvā samsṛjami prajabhyah VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah prajayā samsṛjāmi* KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring '

samveśanas (RV AV °*ne*) *tanuvai* (AV *tanvā*, SV KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvas*) *cārur edhi* RV AV SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ 'Be happy in union (or, as a uniter) with (of, to) thy body ' Of course the RV , with an objective genitive, is the original (see §617), but it is interesting that either an instr (AV) or a dat (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form There seems no objection to taking *samveśanas* as a nom agentis, with comms on TB and TA (*samyojayita*), this would not alter the construction

samjñānam nah svebhyah (AV *svebhih*, TB *svaih*), followed by

samjñānam aranebhyah (AV °*nebhih*, TB °*naih*) RVKh AV MS KS TB In AV TB , 'harmony for us with our own men with strangers,' in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc The instr is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect fac

ājarasāya sam anakti aryamā RV SMB ApMB *ahorātrābhyām sam*

anaktv aryamā AV 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night)'

3 Other syntactic shifts

§561 More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahī vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV 'She (Uṣas) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing' 'she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight'

§562 A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following

hastāya (SV *hastena*) *vajrah prati dhāyi darśatah* RV AV SV 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra)'

§563 Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms, other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case

vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi TS ApŚ *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prānāya prāsnāmi* (ŚŚ *hutasya prāśnāmīṣe prānāya*, ŚB *hutasyāsnāmy ūrja udānāya*) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech'

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS *tayā vidhema*, KS *tasyai te vidhema*) TS MS KS 'Thy arrow with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS)'

yah samgrāmān (TS MS °*mam*) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vaśī* (TS MS *sam vaśī yudhe*, KS *sam vaśī yudhā*) AV TS MS KS 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting)' The change in verb (riming, add to VV 2 §853) conditions the change of noun case

pratiprasthātar dadhigharmenānūdehi (MŚ *dadhigharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva*) ApŚ MŚ Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different, MŚ 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge'

vītam śamitre (MS °*trā*, KS °*tam*) *śamitā* (MS °*tam*) *yajadhyai* TS MS KS 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice', KS Cf *vītam havih śamitam śamitā yajadhyai* VS ŚB, 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahīdhara and Eggeling)

arvāg devā asya visarjanena (TB °*nāya*) RV MS TB The comm on

TB is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl (which varies with the instr after *arvāk*, cf Speyer *VSS* §39, and below, §574) But doubtless TB misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i e to create it?) '.

tebhiḥ (AV VS VSK *tebhyaḥ*) *svarād asunītim etām* (AV *asunītir no adya*) RV AV VS VSK Followed by *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV °*yasva*) The interpretation is difficult in any reading, see the commentators

patim surāyā (TB °*yai*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Mahīdhara takes *surayā* as associative instr A dat or gen seems required, see §622

sajūr devaiḥ sāyamyāvabhiḥ (ŚŚ *devebhyaḥ* †*sāyamyāvabhyaḥ*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ And the same with *prātaryāvabhiḥ* (ŚŚ † °*yāvabhyaḥ*) 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning) ' The instr may be suggested by *sajūr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original, but the formula is rigmarole and anything is possible

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK °*yatāya*, KS *kṛtsnāvītāya*, TS MS *kṛtsnāvītāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS KS Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood VS comm struggles with the instr as an abstract noun, dependent on *dhāvate*, he analyzes it as from *kṛtsnāyata* (*kṛtsnāyata*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplology (or is there a misprint, for °*yatatayā*?) The original dat is an epithet of Rudra

4 Case attraction

§564 In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change

yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ *yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere) ' Formal assimilation of *te* to *tena*, influenced by *antarikṣena*

dṛśā ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukmanā MS *dṛśe ca bhāsā bṛhatā su-śukvanaḥ* (KS °*kvabhiḥ*) VS TS KS ŚB *dṛśe* is infinitival with *suśuk*°, and *dṛśā* seems due to formal assimilation apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *suśukmanā* see VV 2 §240)

5 Corruptions

§565 A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt·

aghāya bhuma harivaḥ parādai (MS °*dair*) RV AV TS MS On MS

('by betrayal'?) see VV 2 §384, it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant

dīkṣayedam (KS *dīkṣāy*°) *havir āgachatam nah* KS TB AŚ There is no stem **dīkṣa*, and it seems that KS (all mss and ed) must be an error

[*enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā* KS *idāhna id āharam aśīya* MŚ ed by em , the mss corruptly point to the same text as KS See VV 2 §709]

6 Phrase inflection

§566 Phrase inflection (§§21–2) occurs

ṛtubhiṣ ṭvārtavaih AV HG *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyah* AV In two different stanzas, AV 3 10 10 and 5 28 13, one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV 19 37 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman)

asme kṣatrāya varcase balāya RV *saha kṣatrena varcasā balena* AV In different contexts

sahasrākṣāya mīdhuṣe (NīlarU *vājine*) VS VSK TS MS KS NīlarU *sahasrākṣena vājinā* AV The same stanza as in VS etc occurs in NīlarU , but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājine*) by *vajinā* of the quite different AV stanza

7 Transfer of epithet

§567 The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat and instr seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15)

yo agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhih (SV °*dātaye*) RV SV 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations) ' So it seems best to take SV , with *havya*° as a noun of agent, as in RV 6 48 2 *dāśema havyadātaye* If however we take the SV form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558

vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā (SV *paniṣṭaye*) RV SV 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV The SV is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun If we dared take *paniṣṭaye* as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (*janāya*) of the preceding *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV °*hah*), this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'

B *Instrumental and ablative*

1 Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568 Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569 We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means:

yās te viśas tapasah (TB °*sā*) *sambabhūvuh* AV TB 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*'

payasa (MS °*sah*) *śukram amṛtam janitram*, followed by

surayā (MS KS *surāya*) *mutrāj janayanti* (VS † MS °*nta*) *retah* VS MS KS † TB 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *sura*, from urine'. Here the original clearly had abl *mutraj* (all texts), but instr *payasa* (all but MS), while the form of the stem *sura* was either instr or abl, in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS KS are more apt to be original than VS TB.

surayā (MS *surāyāh*) *somah suta asuto madaya* VS MS KS ŚB TB. The ŚB understands *surayā* as associative instr., so also comm. on TB and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS from) *sura*, distilled unto enjoyment'. This seems supported by Mahīdhara on VS *asutah surayā tvrīḍitah san*

yatah prajā akhidra (MS *yena prajā achidra*) *ajayanta tasmai tva juhomi* TS MS KS

punsah kartur mātari asiṣikta JB *punsā kartra matari ma niṣinca* (°*cata* to be read?) KBU 'From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother'. On the verb-form see VV 1 §372c.

tābhya enā ni ṭvartaya RV *tābhyas tva vartayamasi* KS *tabhir ā vartayā punah* TS ApMB 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back'. The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570 Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present

śam yajur bhyah (TA °*bhih*) VS ŚB TA 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas'

pauruṣeyād daivyāt KS † *pauruṣeyena daivyena* TS MS [*yena-yena vā kṛtam*] *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV Preceded by *yad idam abhidāsati* KS, *yad idam mābhiśocati* TS MS, *yan medam abhiśocati* AV

anyad evāhur vidyāyāh (VSK IśāU *vidyayā*),

anyad āhur (IśāU †*evāhur*) *avidyāyāh* (VSK IśāU *avidyayā*) VS VSK IśāU 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance' That the words are felt as abls, not gens, is proved by the parallel pādas *anyad evāhuh sambhavāt*, *anyad āhur asambhavāt*, which occur in the vicinity

svāhā yajñam manasah (KS * [2 3] *yajñamanasah*) VS MS KS † (bis) ŚB ApŚ MŚ *svāhā yajñam manasā* (KS °*si*) TS MS KS ApŚ A verb such as *ā rabhe* (but with the loc *manasi*, *visṛje*—§607) is to be understood In KS 23 5 *svāhā yajñam manasah* (which certainly should be read also in KS 2 3 for ed *yajñamanasah*, cf VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmana *manasā vai yajña ālabhyate*—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions

2 Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571 The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly, and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls

tena (TB *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (°*nā*) *avistam* (TB *avīṣtam*) RV MS TB Preceded by *yad bahiṣṭham nātinīdhe* (TB °*vide*) *sudānū*, *achidram śarma bhuvanasya gopā* 'By (thru) this (aid, *śarman*), O M and V, help us'

bhuvas tvam indra brahmanā (MS °*no*) *mahān* RV TS MS KS AŚ 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words'

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ PG The PG reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143, the context makes it easy to assume a change from *satyasya* to *sakhyasya*, and the reverse change is not easy to understand Yet *pari* is not very easy to construe in AŚ, while in PG it goes very naturally with the abl *dharmanah*, either in

the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read)' In the latter interpretation, the abl of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr

§572 To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound, they are however all suspicious for one reason or another

abhi śravobhiḥ pṛthivīm RV *uta śravasa* (MS *śravasa* [p p °*sah*] *ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS TS MS TA 'And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory' MS like the others has in the preceding the parallel *mahina* (instr) *divah*, 'over the heavens by his greatness' If *śravasah* be accepted it would have to be an abl of cause, but see VV 2 §991

hiranyapanir amimīta sukratuh kṛpa (AV *kṛpat*) *svah* AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Whitney adopts *kṛpa* for AV , which is read by some mss and comm (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420) AŚ ŚŚ add the ūha *tṛpa svah* for *kṛpā svah*, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138 Can the anomalous final *t* of AV be explained as due to misunderstanding of a ms reading in which *t* was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for *k* in *kṛpā*, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word?

satyā eṣām āśiṣah santu kāmaih (SMB *kāmāt*) SMB ApMB HG So Conc , but Jorgensen reads *kamāh* in SMB , with only one ms recorded as reading *kāmat* Cf §412

3 With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining See e g Whitney, *Gr* 283a, Speyer, *VSS* §33 In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation

tebhir no adya (ApŚ *tebhyo no indrah*) *savitota viṣnuh* KŚ ApŚ *tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah* KauŚ The verb *vi muñcantu* follows 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣnu free us (today) from these (fetters of Varuna)', or the like

visvā (MS *vy*) *amīvāh pramuñcan manusibhih* (KS Ppp °*ṣebhyah*, MS °*ṣānam*) AV Ppp MS KS *mṛva āsah pramuñcan manuṣīr bhiyah* VS TS Followed by *śivābhir* (Ppp VS KS MS *sivebhir*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (VS TS MS KS *vrdhe*) All evidence points

to *mānuṣībhiḥ* as the original The AV comm followed by Whitney supplies *ūtibhiḥ* But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kṛṣṭi*, 'tribe' (see Grasmann, *Wbch* s v) The instr is then probably one of separation 'freeing all diseases from human tribes' KS Ppp must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyaḥ* as abl, 'from men' On VS TS see §474 MS has a possessive gen 'freeing (removing) men's diseases' The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV 6 71 3b, *śivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayam*, where *śivebhir* goes with a preceding *pāyubhis* (the context is wholly different) Here *śivebhir* or *śivābhir* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness' Note that only AV has *mānuṣībhiḥ* and *śivābhiḥ* in the same case form

4 Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574 The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either abl or instr without difference of meaning This use of the abl is apparently related to the abl of comparison, cf Speyer, *VSS* §39

paro divā (AV vulg *divo* by misprint, MS *divaḥ*) *para enā pṛthivyā* (MS °*yāḥ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS 'Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here' Followed (except in one of the two RV occurrences, and AV which repeats this) by

paro devebhir (MS °*bhyo*) *asurair* (MS °*ram*) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhā yat*) RV VS TS MS KS

avaś ca yaḥ parāḥ sṛuca (Vait *srucaḥ*, KS *paro divaḥ*) RV KS Vait

arvāk tva parebhyo 'vidam (VSK *tvā parebhyaḥ*) *paro varebhyaḥ* (TS *tvā parair avidam paro 'varaiḥ*, MS *tva parebhyaḥ paro 'varebhyo 'vidam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer'

5 In adverbial forms

§575 Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning

nīcād uccā svadhayabhi prataṣthau Ppp TS KS *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV Here *nīcad* has distinct ablatival force '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'

ayam paścād (MS *pascā*) *vidadvasuḥ* MS KS In this and the next two the p p of MS reads *paścāt*

ayam paścād (MS *paśca*) *viśvavyacāḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB See prec

maryo na yoṣām abhy eti paścāt (MS *paścā*) RV AV MS TB See prec two

yad ahnā (and, *rātriyā*, v l *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA MahānU *yad ahnāt* (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA The comm repeats the strange forms *ahnāt* and *rātriyāt* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'

6 Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential

sa budhnād (AV Ppp °*nyād*) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV *januṣo 'bhy*) *agram* AV Ppp (*JAOS* 37 260) TS KS AŚ The instr is doubtless original, note that even Ppp has it 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl *budhnyad*, now taken as an adjective 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached' Otherwise Ludwig

vāyur na īḍita īḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *patu* KS ApŚ *vāyuṣ tvantarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ

samjagmāno (KS °*nā*, MS TB ApŚ °*nau*) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* (ApŚ † °*vyaḥ*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ All but TB ApŚ have two instrs 'uniting with heaven and earth' The subject is the śukra and (or) the manthin graha, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS ŚB, which repeat the formula with each) TB keeps the instr *pṛthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *ayuḥ*), while ApŚ (which reads *pṛthivyā āyuḥ*) understands an abl (so Caland, less likely gen or dat) both must take *diva(ḥ)* as abl Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her' The TB comm understands *'uniting with the earth, as far as (i e including) the heaven' ā divo dyulokasahitayā pṛthivyā* The secondary TB ApŚ reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991, the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732

C *Instrumental and genitive*

1 Objective genitive

§577 In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental Most of our

variants are miscellaneous in character and show quite different syntactic applications of the two cases

§578 The objective genitive, which easily interchanges with various other cases (§§87 ff), varies with an associative instrumental after noun expressions of union or association, with practically no difference of meaning

samvasānam (SV °*no*) *vivasvatah* (SV °*tā*) RV SV 'Fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat'

samvesane tanvaś (AV *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV AV 'In joining of (with) thy body' Other texts *samveśanas tanve* (*tanuvai*) , with final dative, see §560

viśveṣām devānām aham (KS *vi*° *aham dev*°) *devayajyayā prānaih* (KS *prānānām*) *sāyujyam gameyam* KS ApŚ 'may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths'

§579 After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means

tena †*tṛpyatam anhahau* TB ApŚ *tasya* †*tṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū svāhā* ŚŚ

juṣṭam devebhir (AV *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhih* (AV *mānuṣānām*) RV AV 'Accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men'

2 Subjective genitive

§580 Again, the subjective genitive varies, without essential difference of meaning, with an instrumental of means or agent, after a participle or its equivalent, the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology

yan mayā duskṛtam kṛtam TA MahānU BDh *yan me kim cana duṣkṛtam* VıDh 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed')'

yan me (TA * BDh * *mayā*) *manasā vācā* TA (both) MahānU BDh (both) As in preceding, the participle *kṛtam* follows

chandobhir yajñaih sukṛtām kṛtena AV *brahmanā guptah* (ApMB *sampṛñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* ApMB HG 'With the deed of the righteous' 'by (with) the holy speech which is made by the righteous man' There is no need to emend HG to *sukṛtām* with Oldenberg

āpo devīh prathamajā ṛtena (AV *ṛtasya*) RV AV 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta'

3 Partitive genitive

§581. The partitive genitive (almost appositional at times) exchanges in various ways with an instrumental, sometimes with little difference

of meaning, as in the first instance, where the instr is appositional to another instrumental, in phrases of this type the gen may exchange with any other case (§84)

vasantena (also *grīṣmena, varṣābhis, śaradā, hemantaśiśirābhyām*) *tvartunā* (KSA °*nām*) *havişā dīkşayāmi* TS KSA 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation '

§582 Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering

tasmā indrāya havişā juhota MS *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma) ' Others with the acc , §§466, 502

§583 Somewhat less close are

yad asya karmano 'tyarīricam ApŚ HG AG ApMB *yat karmanātyarīricam* ŚB BṛhU PG 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess '

sukalpam agne tat tava (AV *tvayā*) AV TS MS KS 'That (part) of thee is easily made good' 'that is easily made good by thee' Addressed to Agni

anuştup (also *triştup, gāyatrī, jagatī, paṅktis*) *tvā chandasām avatu* (KS *chandasāvatu*) TS MS KS 'May anuştubh (etc) of the meters (with meter) help thee ' Formulaic rigmarole

suyyotir jyotişā (TA ApŚ °*şām*) *svāhā* VS ŚB TA ApŚ 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights) ' As prec

teşām chidram prati dadhmo yad atra KS *teşām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imani*, TS *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ *tebhis chidram apidadhmo yad atra* MS AŚ 'Of (by) these (33 threads) '

4 Instr -gen of time

§584 The question whether the gen can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively, see §678, and cf especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 79 6 In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain

madhu naktam utoşasah (KS °*sā*, TS TA °*si*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś The RV *uşasah* has been taken (e g by Grassmann) as nom pl 'the night and dawns are honey ' This is impossible because there is no nom *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p 234) that form can only be adverbial acc , and consequently

uṣasaḥ is also adverbial It might (with Wackernagel l c and others) be taken as acc pl , but may at least as well be gen sg , in either case it means practically the same as *uṣasā* (or °*si*), 'at dawn '

5 Case attraction

§585 The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change

cakṣuṣaḥ (KapS °*ṣā*) *pitā manasā hi dhīraḥ* RV VS TS MS KS KapS ApŚ Raghu Vira emends to *cakṣuṣaḥ*, wrongly, assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18)

viśvasyeśāna ojasā (SV °*sah*) RV AV SV 'Ruler of all by might' 'ruler of all might ' We take it that *ojasā* has been altered to *ojasaḥ* by attraction to *viśvasya*

saṃvatsarena savitā no ahnām (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ 'By the year of days' 'by the year, by the day' The MS form seems to be assimilated to *saṃvatsarena*, so in the next two But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted the change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced

trivṛn no viṣṭhayā (KS *trivṛd viṣṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ As prec

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *aikitnū* (with varr) TS MS KS AŚ As prec

traiṣṭubhena chandasendrena devatayāgneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhāmi TS *traiṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārśvenāgneḥ pārśvam upa dadhāmi* KS *traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhāmi* MS 'With the triṣṭubh meter, with the side of Agni ', so TS KS , original In MS the first phrase is assimilated to the following *agneḥ* 'with the side of the triṣṭubh meter, of Agni ' So also with the meter-names *jāgata, gāyatra, ānuṣṭubha, pāṅkta*

devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām sarasvatyā vācā (VS TS ŚB *sarasvatyai vāco*) *yantur yantrena abhiṣiñcāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB *sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS VSK ŚB Assuming that MS KS are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā*(*s*) or °*yai* (§143) and the following *yantur* in

the others If, as is less likely, the gen is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr in MS KS

§586 In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change, it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context

pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopaṅśor vīryena MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS °*tryā*) *vartanyopaṅśor vīryena* TS KS

bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā śukrasya vīryena TS *bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena traiṣṭubhyā* (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā śukrasya* MS KS

agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai [gen] *vartanyāgrayanasya vīryena* (KS *jagatyā vartanyā*) TS KS *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanya* MS In these three associated formulas, the gens *pāvamānasya* (MS only) and *bṛhadrathamtarayos* (TS only), 'with the hymn of the P ' and 'of the B -R (sāmans),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agnes tvā mātrayā* etc of the third formula, the instr forms (found consistently in KS) are original The second phrase of all three formulas consists of *vartanyā* modified by an adjectival or appositional instr in KS , and again this seems to be the original form In the first formula the instr is replaced by a dependent gen in both TS and MS , in the second and third formulas in TS alone These gens are modelled on the next following phrase, *upāṅśor* (*śukrasya, āgrayanasya*) *vīryena*

6 Miscellaneous

§587 In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant

vayam nāma pra bravāmā (KS † °*ma*, add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtasya* (TA ApŚ *ghṛtena*) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ MahānU (All but one ms of MahānU used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA ApŚ , tho the comm has *ghṛtasya*) Caland translates ApŚ as if gen , but the agreement of the Tait texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, nonsensical as it seems to us TA comm says the 'name' means the pranava (*om*)

pra yujo (SV *yujā*) *vāco agriyah* RV SV Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV *acikradat*) RV 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth' *yujā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song)'

sarasvatyā (TB °*tyāh*) *supippalah* VS MS TB Preceded by *devo devair* (TB *indro*) *vanaspatih, hiranyaparno aśvibhyām* The instr is associative, and TB glosses the gen by *sarasvatyāh sambandhī*

rasam parisrutā (MS °*to*) *na rohitam* VS KS MS TB The instr depends on the verb *vayati* in the prec, felt as a verb of mixing or uniting 'as the red sap with *parisrut*' However, VS comm glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutah* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*')

ajo bhāgas (TA *°bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV °*sas*) *tam tapasva* RV AV TA 'The goat is (thy) portion (TA portionless), burn him with heat' 'the goat is the portion of heat, burn him' Whitney considers the AV superior, but wrongly, cf Oldenberg *Noten* on RV 10 16 4

patim surāyā (TB *surāyai*, VS *suraya*) *bheşajam* VS MS TB See §563

sam brahmanā (AV °*nām*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devahitam*) *yad asti* RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB The instr is associative, with *sam neşi* (*neşa*) of prec 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods' In AV it becomes a partitive gen with *yad* 'whatever prayers have been ', no instr being expressed tho one must still be understood

viśvā (MS *vy*) *amīvah pramuñcan mānuşībhih* (KS °*şebhyah*, MS °*şanām*) AV MS KS See §573

§588 Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following

agnir āyuşmān sa tena tvāyuşayuşmantam karomi (KS *tasyāyam āyuşāyuşmān astv asau*) TS KS PG ApMB 'By this life' 'by his life' The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used

ayam no nabhasas patih (TS ApŚ *nabhasā purah*) AV TS GB Vait Kauś ApŚ Followed by *samsphāno abhi rakşatu*

ye barhişo (MS °*şa*) *namovṛktim* (VS VSK MS ŚB *namauktim*) *na jagmuh* (VS ŚB *yajanti* for *na ja*°) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ See §419

satyā tā dharmanas patī ApŚ *satyād ā dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas pari*, but MŚ mss *dharmanā pari*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

sam tvā nahyāmy apa (MŚ MG *adbhir*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS MŚ MG *sam tvā nahyāmi payasauṣadhīnām* AV Cf *sam tvā nahyāmi payasā pṛthivyāḥ* (TS *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this, see §460

pūṣā sanīnām (TS ApŚ *sanyā*), *somo rādhasām* (TS °*sā*) TS KS MS ApŚ MŚ (only the first two words in ApŚ MŚ, delete MŚ in Conc under *somo rā*°) In MS KS probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc In TS *āvavṛtran* precedes 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc

ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava KS MŚ Kauś MG *ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N

sam it tam rāyā sṛjati svadhāvān (AV * *rāyaḥ sṛjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV AV (both)

āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣānaḥ (ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) TS TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

yena (AV *yasya*) *dyaur ugrā* (AV *urvī*) *pṛthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS *dṛḍhe*, AV *mahī*) RV AV Ppp VS VSK TS MS KS In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urvī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*

§589 The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following

ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ RV AV TS KS *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* LŚ The LŚ *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning Is it gen with *ariṣṭās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr* 296b)? Or abl of source or cause'? Or adverbial accus ? Or even nom pl ('may we be unharmed bodies, persons')? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition

nedīya it sṛṇyaḥ (TS † °*yó*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS *āyat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Here *sṛṇyaḥ* may be variously interpreted in the RV form, it is often taken as gen, 'may the ripe grain come near to the sickle' But acc pl is also possible, likewise nom sg (stem *sṛṇyā*) may be considered (cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 58 4) The AV makes it a nom pl

pṛthivyā (MS * °*vyāḥ*) *sambhava VS* TS *MS KS ŚB KŚ* ApŚ See VV 2 p 197

[*vācām indriyenāviśa* (TS MŚ *vācā mendr*°) TS KS MŚ Read KS like the others, see v Schroeder's note on 31 15, p 18 n 1]

7 Transfer of epithet

§590 The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows

amaṛṣām cittam prabudhām (TS KS °*dhā*) *vi nesat* (KS *naśyatu*) RV AV TS KS 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught' In TS KS *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed, or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom'

§591 In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15)

stomo yajñaś ca (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °*tah*) RV TB 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer' Once the gen has been introduced in TB (see §449), *haviṣmatā* is assimilated to it

vṛṣṇah sutasyaujasā (SV PB °*sah*) RV SV PB In SV *ojas* is made an epithet of soma 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength'

vedam savitrā prasūtam maghonām AG *vedam prasūtam savitrā maghonā* ŚG Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG the reading of ŚG, with no ms authority To us it seems that AG is not only sound but original 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons' ŚG has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet ' pressed forth by the liberal Savitar'

ghṛtasya vibhrāṣṭim anu śukrasocişah (RV AV VS KS *vaşṭi śocişā*) RV AV SV TS MS KS Followed by *ājuhvānasya sarpişah* The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpişah*

D *Instrumental and locative*

§592 The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed Speyer (*VSS* §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways

§593 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbruck, *AIS* p 122) The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes

place But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place The occasion (loc) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr) of the action The phrase *marutām prasave jaya* (TS *jayata*) of TS MS KS MŚ means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer ' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS ŚB , with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say, just as we imagine a Latinist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between *in hoc signo vinces* and *hoc signo vinces*

§594 Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases Distinctions are often drawn between them Thus it is said that the instr denotes the time or place thruout which the action takes place Delbruck uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* of such instrumentals To be sure he admits (*AIS* p 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that *doṣā*, instr , 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣasi*, loc , 'in the morning' We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced

§595 We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc , and of locatives of various sorts And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized, so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rigmarole formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604)

1 Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbruck and others is not supported by the variants (§594)

maghāsu (RV *aghāsu*, ApG *maghābhir*) *hanyante gāvah* (ApG *gāvo gṛhyante*),

phalgunīṣu (RV *arjunyoh*, ApG *phalgunībhyām*) *vy* (RV *pary*) *uhyate* (ApG *ūhyate*) RV AV ApG Kauś 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalgunī (Arjunī) the marriage takes place' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable

madhu naktam utoṣasah (KS °*sā*, TS TA °*si*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś Here *uṣasah* (probably gen sg) is the original, and is replaced by either instr or loc, see §584

2 Place expressions

§597 The instr is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, *VSS* §42), but the loc may equally well be used

samudram gandharveṣṭhām anvātiṣṭhata (KS † °*ṣṭhathu*) *vātasya patmanedutā* (KS *patmann īditā*) MS KS 'On the path of the wind'

avyo vāreṣu (SV *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuh* RV SV, and

avyo vāre (SV *avyā vārair*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool' The verbs are *pavasva*, *punānah*, *hinvanti*, the subject, soma

drunā (SV *drone*) *sadhastham aśnuṣe* RV SV 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows

drunā (SV VS *drone*) *sadhastham āsadat* RV SV VS As prec

§598 And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr may replace the loc

adhi kṣami viṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā viṣvarūpam*) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr, and is well known in the RV itself It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhi*, which is not found with the instr (tho it may reinforce the loc, as probably here with *kṣami*)

paro yad idhyate divā (SV *divi*) RV SV Here *divā* is commonly regarded as dependent on *paras* 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann *Wtb*, and Bergaigne 2 187) Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with *paras* an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation), in that case it would be the precise equivalent of *divi*

tire tubhyam gaṅge HG *tīre tubhyam asau* PG *tīrena yamune* (and, *tīrenāsau*) *tava* ApMB Preceded by *vivṛttacakrā āsīnās* HG ApMB, *avimuktacakra* (v l °*rā*) *āsīran* PG It seems scarcely

possible to take ApMB *tīrena* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank'

§599 The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places'

gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat (VS *dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat*) AV VS *gandharvo nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU

trīṇi padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU

3 Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600 We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place', cf (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593 As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr, 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough

śam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ AV *śam yāḥ kumbhebhir ābhṛtāḥ* AV

§601 Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarśa*) *kaṃ* (AG MG *kiṃ*) *cana* Kirste assumes that HG is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc, 'within the dominion of the white one' The instr is indeed bad metrically and doubtless secondary But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *ābhicāra*, 'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV 10 3 2, and there is no need to abandon it, the more since MG has the loc of the same word 'by (MG in) the hostile magic of the white one the snake has killed no one (nothing)' The other texts have different words

marutām prasave (VS ŚB °*vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ See §593

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV † °*taye*, AV VSK °*tibhiḥ*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājinaḥ*

The RV original has a dative of purpose (§558), for it the later texts substitute instr or loc , which are virtually equivalent, with the loc , the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters'

śikṣā vakṣibhyo havṣi (MS KS °*ṣā*) *svadhāvah* RV VS TS MS KS 'Teach, O S , (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching

vairūpe sāmann iha (MS *adhi*, KS *vairūpena sāmnā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema*) TS KS MS AŚ 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the vairūpa sāman' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr (*jagatyā*) in all

meṣam viprā abhisvarā (SV °*re*) RV SV AV Preceded by *nemim namanti cakṣasā* 'With (in) their song of praise'

vasūnām tvādhitena rudrānām ūrmyādityānām tejasā viśveṣām devānām kratunā marutām emnā juhomi svāhā TB ApŚ *vasūnām ādhitau rudrānām karmann ādityānām cetasi* (sc *tvā juhomi*) MS 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc

ahno rūpe (TS *rūpena*) *sūryasya raśmiṣu* (TS † *raśmibhih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verb is *gṛhnāmi* or *ādhunomi* 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun'

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people]' Cf Edgerton, *AJP* 35 438 f

somasya śuṣmah surayā (MS *surāyām*) *sutasya* VS MS KS ŚB TB 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) surā'

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (VSK *prornvāthām*, MS *prornuvātām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *svarge* (KS † *svarge*) *loke samprornvāthām* (KSA † °*rnuvāthām*) TS KSA TB 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world'

agnir ukthena vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV Contexts essentially the same

§602 Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc sg ending *e* varies with the instr pl *aih* While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*e ai*, and the light pronunciation of final visarga) are involved, see VV 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added

bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yajñaih (MŚ *yajñe*) RV SV MŚ

mitrāvarunā rakṣatam ādhipatyaih (AŚ °*tye*) TS MS KS AŚ

ghrtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS °*tyaih*) TS MS KS AŚ

4 Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group

rāyas poṣena (KS *poṣe*) *sam iṣā madema* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ ŚG PG 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by *sam* The meter indicates that KS is secondary

vivasva (°*vann*, °*vān*) *ādityaiṣa tasmin* (TS *tena*) *matsva* (TS KS *mandasva*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB 'Delight in it'

ny adhur mātrāyām (KS *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasaḥ* (KS °*sam*) MS KS 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS has an instr of manner, MS a loc of situation

sve dakṣe (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s)' Add to VV 2 §706

sa rāye sa puramdhyām (SV °*dhyā*) RV SV AV JB Preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvat* 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality' *puramdhyā* = *liberaliter*

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG °*nāv*, MG °*nā*) *adhi roha vaṃsa* (MG *vaṃsaḥ*) AV AG HG ApMB MG All Knauer's mss *ṛteva*, Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā iva*' If he is right, *ṛte* is loc of the sphere of action

tvayā (RV *tve ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV SV 'Worshipers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee' Phonetic moments are involved here, VV 2 §911

§604 In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rigmarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other

prācyām diśi (MS KS MŚ *prācyā diśā*, ŚŚ *prācyā diśā saha*) *devā ṛtvijo mārjayantām* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter' In ŚŚ *saha* proves that the instr is associative, in MS KS it might also be one of means Similarly the formulas beginning *udīcyāṃ diśy, ūrdhvāyām diśi, pratīcyām diśi, dakṣiṇāyām diśi*, with variant instrs

svāyām yat tanvām (*tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS KŚ *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* AV *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS KSA 'Produced a body in (with) his own body'

5 Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605 Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467) In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition *sam*, in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition

bṛhaspate †yāmyām (KS mss *yāmyā*) *yuñgdhi* (*yuñdhi*) *vācam* TS MS KS AŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *yāmyām*, but the instr is perfectly sound 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*', whatever *yāmī* may mean

sam devānām sumatyā (AV VS MS ŚB *sumatau*) *yajñiyānām* RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods'

sam patnī patyā sukṛteṣu (TB ApŚ *sukṛtena*) *gachatām* MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds'

śivena (VSK *śive*) *me sam tiṣṭhasva* VSK TB TAA ApŚ 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me'

aṅgāny ātman (MS *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS MS KS TB The verb is *sam-dhā*, see §462

§606 In one variant involving the root *spṛdh* 'vie', the two cases are differently used This root takes the instr of the person vied with, the loc of the person or thing striven for For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109

spardhante dhiyah (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA

6 Miscellaneous

§607 There remains a relatively small group in which the instr and loc seem to be used in definitely different constructions, often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped

garbha ivet subhṛto garbhinībhih (RV *iva sudhito garbhinīṣu*) RV SV KU 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women'

vayam rājabhih (AV * *rājasu*) *prathamā dhanānī* RV AV (both) 'We along with (our?) kings, the first ' 'we first among the kings' It is not clear who the 'kings' are The p p of both RV and AV read *prathamāh*, Grassmann and Geldner (*VSt* 1 150) understand *prathamā*, n pl

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS 'This Indra, mingler of the fight (*yudhas*, objective gen ?) with his band (instr of means)' MS has distorted the pāda, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660, some AV mss have *samsṛṣṭā*) 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled'

yathā pṛthivyām agnaye samanamann evā mahyam samnamah sam namantu AV *yathāgnih pṛthivyā samanamad evam mahyam bhadrah samnatayah sam namantu* TS KSA † 5 20 The latter seems to have an associative instr 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance' But the mantra is obscure rigmarole, for a different interpretation see Keith on TS Other parallel formulas in the same context

yat kusīdam apratittam (MS MŚ TA °*tīdam*, TA Poona ed °*tīttam* with v l °*tidam*, SMB *apradattam*) *mayeha* (TS *mayi*) TS MŚ TA MŚ SMB 'The loan which has not been paid back by me' In TS *mayi* perhaps 'the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me'

maya gāvo gopatina savadhvam AV *mayi gavah santu gopatau* AŚ *mayi tiṣṭhantu gopatau* MŚ Different verbs For the loc with *santu* cf §671

mahān mahitve tastabhānah (KS *mahitvā samstambhe*) KS TB ApŚ 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness' 'great with greatness on firm foundation'

śruṣṭi (SV °*ṭe*) *jātāsa indavah svarvidah* RV SV *śruṣṭī* is taken as instr of an *i*-stem, 'quickly', Benfey understands *śruṣṭe* as loc of an *a*-stem, 'der Satzung gemäss'

svaha yajñam manasa (KS °*si*) TS MS KS ApŚ Others with gen, see §570 Different verbs understood, in TS *ā rabhe*, in KS *visṛje*

§608 The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following

vaiśvānarasya tejasa (MŚ °*si*) TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *śiras tapasy ahitam* The preceding *tapasi* has influenced MŚ

7 Phrase inflection

§609 What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts

vaisvānarasya danṣṭrayoh (and *danṣṭrabhyām*) AV The form with loc is followed by *agner api dadhāmi tam*, of these two pādas an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *vaisvanarasyainam danṣṭrayor api dadhāmi* AV

devī devebhir yajate (and °*te*) *yajatraih* RV *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV AV MS

yat te pavitram arciṣi (AŚ °*ṣā*) RV VS MS KS TB AŚ LŚ VHDh In all but AŚ followed by *agne vitatam antar ā* In AŚ followed by *kalaśeṣu dhāvati*, which is probably meant to be part of the same formula, in that case AŚ does not intend a pratīka of the RV. verse

8 Transfer of epithet

§610 We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text into a form which is an epithet of the adjoining word·

adṛṅhathāh śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhih*) KS ApŚ MŚ 'Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven' ' firm with three-pointed pebbles '

9 Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611 The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt

tviṣim indre na (MS s p *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Mere ritual jargon, it does not matter what is read, but MS p p agrees with the others Cf VV 2 §826

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudi* (TS TB Poona ed *kakubhi*, TB Conc *kakubhih*, MS *kakubbhih*) *śiśriyānah* (AV TB *śrayasva*) AV TS MS TB Comm on TB *kakubhir uttamāñge* (intending *kakubhy ut*°?) One ms of MS *kakudbhi* Probably MS like the rest intends a loc , the strange-looking form *kakubhi* would easily suggest an instr pl to a thoughtless copyist Cf VV 2 §400 'Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty '

samudre na (and *samudrena*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV Read *samudre na* both times, VV 2 §826

na mānseṣu na snāvasu ApMB *neva mānse na pībasi* AV *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG The last simulates a voc sg fem *pīvari* This initial corruption brings in its train *mānsena*, dependent on the following participle *āyatam* But the reading hardly deserves consideration

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ *tanūs tanvā* (*tanuvā*) *me saha* (AV *sahed antāh*) AV (mss) TS TAA Vait PG The vulgate emends AV to *tanūs tanvām me bhaved antah*, but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental *tanvā* with the other texts]

CHAPTER XXV

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

A *Dative and ablative*

§612 Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free' The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives

sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme (AV * MS *asmat*) RV AV (bis) VS TS MS KS Followed by *ārāc cid dveṣah sanutar yuyotu* (RV * *yuyota*) 'May Indra, well-saving, keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative

ud uttamam mumugdhi nah (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ 'Loose the upmost (bond) for (from) us (me)' But here *nah* may (with the commis on both RV and TB) be considered genitive

idam aham senāyā abhītvaryai (MŚ °*yā*) *mukham apohāmi* TB ApŚ MŚ 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army' But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland, note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III)

yāsyā apaśavyā (etc) *tanūs tām asyā apajahi* ŚG SMB *yāsyai tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG *yāsyai tām ato nāśaya* HG For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyās* or *asyai* is clearly genitive The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyās* rather than *asyai* It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151 2) Similarly the second *asyai* of PG may be meant for any one of the three cases

Only HG has an unmistakable ablative, *ito* Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure

§613 There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved

iṣṭāpūrtam kṛnutād āvir asmai KS *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutāvir asmai* AV *iṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir* (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvir*, TS TB MŚ *kṛnutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ The original 'make clear his *iṣṭāpūrta* for him' The abl of MŚ (all mss) is rather surprising, perhaps 'the *iṣṭāpūrta* (that proceeded) from him'? (abl of source!)

yadi varuṇasyāsi rājño varuṇāt tvā rājño 'dhikrīnāmi Kauś *yadi vāruny asi varunāt tvā niṣkrīnāmi* (Rvidh *varunāya tvā parikrīnāmy aham*) ApG Rvidh *yady asi vāruṇī varunāya tvā rājñe parikrīnāmi* GG And similarly with *yadi somasyāsi* (*saumy asi, yady asi saumī*) etc In a pregnancy rite 'If thou art Varuna's (Soma's), from King V (S) I ransom thee' or 'for King ' The ablative seems more natural, possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuna and Soma Some of the texts have other similar formulas

B *Dative and genitive*

§614 The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose, see e g Speyer *VSS* §§71 f Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf Speyer, fine print at the end of §72), and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf *tat puruṣāya vidmahe* etc , §634) The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose, but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions, see Pischel *Gr d Pkt Spr* §361, and under the pronominal inflections

§615 A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmana texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the

less recognized reverse of this Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings *ai* and *ās* in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them, this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final *ai* and *ās* Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff rather than here Yet since not only *ai* forms as genitives but also *ās* forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff must be considered together with the sections which follow here

1 With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like

§616 We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods Cf Speyer *VSS* §§46, 71

juṣṭo vācas-pataye (MS °*patiḥ*, KB ŚŚ °*pateḥ*, TB °*patyuḥ*) TS MS KB JB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ 'Pleasing to V'

juṣṭo vāco (GB AŚ Vait KŚ *vāce*) *bhūyāsam* TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ (2 3 6 18)

juṣṭam devebhya (TS *devānām*) *idam astu havyam* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

janāya juṣṭo adruhe (SV °*hah*) RV SV See the context, quoted under *vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā* (SV *paniṣṭaye*), §567 SV probably takes the dat with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*

priyam sarvasya paśyatah AV *sarvasmai ca vipaśyate* AV (the latter preceded by *priyam mā kṛṇu*) Delbrück *AIS* p 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat A whole series occurs in AV 19 32 8

agner jihvāsi suhūr (KŚ *supur*, VSK TS TB *subhūr*) *devebhyah* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS KS TB ŚB ŚŚ 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods'

śivas tokāya tanvo (KS † *tanve*) *na edhi* (KS MŚ † *edhi*, v l *ehi*) KS MŚ Kauś *śam tokāya tanuve* (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

tasyās (MS *tasyai*) *tvam harasā tapan* VS † 12 16e, TS MS KS Followed by *jātavedah śivo bhava* 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas' So VS comm and Griffith, Keith on TS takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā* If this be correct for TS it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasyai* would be a gen in *ai* (Chapter III) But (§141) MS does not favor these gens in *ai*

2 With nouns of uniting

§617 Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting *samveśanas* (RV AV °*ne*) *tanuvai* (SV KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvas*, AV *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV AV SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV AV 'uniting to thy body'

3 Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618 Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive So especially in YV dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed, thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman'
aryamno (KSA °*ne*) *lopāśah* TS KSA
puruṣamṛgas candramasah (TS KSA °*se*) VS TS MS KSA
eny ahnah (TS KSA *ahne*) VS TS MS KSA
kṣṭpraśyenāya (TS KSA °*nasya*) *vartikā* VS TS MS KSA
vasūnām (MS *vasubhyah*) *kapiñjalah* VS TS MS KSA
samudrāya (TS KSA *sindhoh*) *śiśumārah* (KSA † *śiśū*°, TS *śiṃsu*°) VS TS MS KSA
somāya (KSA *somāya rājñe*, TS *somasya rājñah*) *kulumgah* (MS *kulañgah*) VS TS MS KSA
himavate (VS MS °*te*) *hastī* (TA *hastinam*) VS TS MS KSA TA
nīlamgoh (MS °*gave*) *krmih* (TS *krimih*) VS TS MS KSA
pikah (KSA *pigah*) *kṣviṅkā nīlaśīrṣnī te ryamne* (KSA °*nah*) TS KSA
ulo halikṣno (TS *ūlo halī*°) *vṛṣadaṃsas te dhātre* (TS KSA *dhātuh*) VS TS MS KSA
viśvebhyo devebhyah prṣatān (MS also °*tah*) VS MS (bis) *viśveṣām devānām prṣatah* VS
dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh pitṛnām somavatām, and *babhravo dhūmranīkāśāh pitṛnām barhiṣadām* VS *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhruvanūkāsān*, and *pitṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānūkāsān* ApŚ
agnaye tvā TS TB MŚ *idam agneh* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
agnīṣomābhyām (*tvā*) TS TB *idam agnīṣomayoh* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
[*pitvo* (VS MS *pidio*) *nyañkuh kakkatas* (MS *kakuthas*, TS *kaśas*) *te*

'numatyaı VS TS MS *bıdvo nyañkuh kaśas te 'numatyāh* KSA So Conc , but KSA actually reads *'numatyā* followed by a° and may just as well stand for *'numatyaı*, there is no p p]

§619. Similarly with a copulaic verb and a nominal form containing the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf VV 2 §§100 ff)

devebhyo (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS *bhāgadhā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS † 'Be he a giver of portions to the gods '

asmabhyam su maghavan bodhi godāh RV VSK *asmākam su maghavan bodhi godāh* (and *gopāh*) RV

§620 The exact force of the gen in the following is less clear, but we are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections

medobhyah svāhā VS *medasah svāhā* VS VSK MS TB The dat is simple and regular, but occurs in a different context, there is no real variant in the passages containing the gen With it the VS comm supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins *hotā yakṣad agnim* (VS *indram*) *svāhājyasya svāhā* etc) 'let the hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hail!' So with the other parallel gens (there are no datives in the passage) But TB comm supplies a copula, paraphrasing *svāhutir astu*, and this seems more likely to be approximately right

§621 Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology, are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion [see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or objective) genitive

vṛṣne (KS *vṛṣṇa*) *codasva suṣṭutim* RV TS MS KS Pāda a is *tasmai* (KS *kasmai*) *nūnam abhidyave* KS is anomalous both in using the interrogative stem *kasmai* (which seems due to the initial of the following stanza, *kam u svid asya senayā*) and in detaching *vṛṣne* from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree Its gen *vṛṣno* is felt as dependent on *suṣṭutim* 'Inspire fair praise to (for, KS of) the bull '

imam ū (MS *u*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ *ṣu tyam asmabhyam*) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ Followed by *sanim gāyatram navyāmsam* (*navīyāmsam*), *agne* (*agnar*) *devesu pra vocah* (*voca*) 'Proclaim this new song of ours (for us) '

tasya guptaye dampatī sam śraycthām AV *tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī samrabhethām* TA 'For protection of it' 'for it, for the family (?) ' Comm on TA refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*, probably rightly

vṛṣā vṛṣṇe (SV *vṛṣṇaḥ*) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* RV SV Preceded by *eṣa sya te madhumān indra somaḥ* 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra'

vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām (AV *'ṅgir°*, AŚ *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) [*stomam uktham ca cākḷpat*, with varr] AV AŚ ŚŚ

indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanacmi (VSK *tanakmi*) VS VSK KS ŚB *indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātanacmi* MS MŚ *somena tvātanacmīndrāya dadhi* TS TB ApŚ 'As Indra's portion' 'as portion (curds) for Indra'

§622 The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift, but since they concern the fem endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff)

patim surāyā (TB *surāyai*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB 'A remedy for (of, i e against) *surā*' VS comm takes the instr as associative, it seems that dat or gen is required, but either of them would be satisfactory

uttānāyā (TS °*yai*) *hṛdayam yad vikastam* (TS *viliṣṭam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *sam te vāyur mātariśvā dadhātu* ' heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine'

so syai (MG *'syāḥ*) *prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB † PG ApMB HG MG 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring) '

athāsyai (TS TB MS °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (with varr) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

§623 The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character

pra sunvānasyāndhasaḥ (SV PB *sunvānāyāndh°*) RV SV PB Followed by *marto na vṛta* (*vaṣṭa*) *tad vacaḥ* 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb)' In RV *sunvāna* is generally active in sense, e g 8 31 16, this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it Hence the change in SV, which makes it active

gharmam śrīnantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ ŚŚ *śrīnanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'For the first drinker' 'of the first drink'

asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst' 'unobstructedly

in the midst of men (Ppp among men, in [their] midst)' Differing from Whitney, we take *asambādham* as a neuter adverb (§404)

indrāya bhāgam parā tvā nayāmi AV *indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātana* ApŚ The gen is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgaḥ*, §393

devo devānām pavitram asi TS MS KS *devo devebhyaḥ pavasva* VS ŚB As in prec, the gen is possessive

rāyas poṣam (KS *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣaya*) *vi ṣyatu* (RV MS TB * *ṣyatām*, AV MS * KS *ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV *asya*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) KS TB (bis) ApŚ 'Let him release (release thou, etc) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it)' Ppp has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV

§624 In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f), indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens (Speyer VSS §46 note) *tīre tubhyam asau* (HG *tubhyam gange*) PG HG *tirenāsau tava* ApMB Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning

§625 Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest, yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens *pitṛnam* etc in any other sense Oldenberg on HG frankly does so, and Buhler's rendering of BDh, 'mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,' is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis) In later Sanskrit the gen replaces the dat in just such uses (Speyer *VSS* §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even *me*?), must be so interpreted

akṣitam asi mā pitṛnām (ApMB *marṣām*, HG BDh also *pitāmahānām*, *prapitāmahanām*) *kṣeṣṭhā amutrāmuṣmiṃl loke* ApMB HG BDh *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā me kṣeṣṭhā* TS GB Vait MŚ

§626 Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat function by the gen , as in classical Sanskrit The SV reads the form *narah* at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with *ā*, but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read *nara* for *nare*, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as *narah* The SV comm glosses with *narāya*

apaścāddaghvane (SV *apaścāda°*) *nare* (SV *narah*) RV SV TB ApŚ

4 Dative of purpose

§627 As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit, and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose This concerns a series of formulas beginning with *savitā tvā savānām* (*prasavānām*) *suvatām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *suvatām* or the like is understood The dependent nouns (*savānām* etc) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gens , Mahīdhara on VS supplies *ādhipatye*, similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc Keith makes the gens partitive 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e g *rudrah paśūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle'!) PG reconstructs the initial formula thus *agnir bhūtānām adhipatih sa māvatu*, which makes the gens simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gens as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS ŚB *vāce*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

rudrah paśūnām (VS ŚB *paśubhyah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB PG

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaiṣthyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

§628 The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous In the first the gen is the object of a verb of ruling; the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object

kṣayantam rādhaso (TS °*se*, KS *śavase*) *mahah* (TS KS *mahe*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty '

§629 The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbruck *AIS* §§103 and (with infinitives) 54

rāye (ApŚ *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā* (*dānāya samidhīmahi*) SV ApŚ 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)'

divas (MS *dive*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS MS A verb like 'I place' is understood 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light'

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase 'bhibhuve svāhā* KS *aniṣṭyā avyathyai samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai chandase 'bhibhuve* (ApŚ *gāyatryā abhibhūtyai*) *svāhā* KS ApŚ *samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS ApŚ *gāyatryās triṣṭubho jagatya anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApŚ om.) *'bhibhūtaye* (with varr.) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ 14 19 1 'For the gāyatrī (etc.) meter, for conquest' 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatrī (etc.)'

§630 The next is not very different, here the dat. or gen. depends not on another dat. but on an acc.

vidā rāye (AA *rāyaḥ*) *suvīryam* RVKh (Scheftelowitz p. 135, vs. 4a) AA Mahānāmnyaḥ 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth' But *rāyaḥ* may also be acc. pl., 'wealth (and) hero-abundance', the variant would then belong with §486

§631 In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction

akūpārasya dāvane (SV *°nah*) RV SV N Here *dāvane* is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give' SV attracts it to the case of *akūpārasya*, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds. of the type *aśva-dāvan*) 'inexhaustible giver'

5 Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form. Cf. Delbruck §110, Speyer VSS §72

§633 Thus, in two pādas of one verse, the root *radh* 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts

dviṣantam (AV *sapatnān*) *mahyam* (TB ApŚ *mama*) *randhayan* RV AV TB ApŚ *dviṣaṁś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *dviṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ (Add to VV 1 §§79, 238, 349.) Followed by

mo aham (AV *mā cāham*, MŚ *mā tv aham*) *dviṣate* (TB ApŚ °*to*, MŚ °*tām*) *radham* RV AV TB ApŚ MŚ The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat, for which the gen is here clearly a substitute TB comm interprets *mama* as possessive gen, 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *dviṣato*, which obviously cannot be taken so, TB comm takes *dviṣato* as abl, *dvi*° *sakāśān mo radham mama hiṃsām prāpnuvāni*, which is absurd

§634 Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows It is noteworthy that in the same context TA and MahānU present parallel formulas with the regular genitive

tat puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi MS KS TA MahānU Immediately preceded in MahānU by *tat puruṣasya vidmahe, sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*, in TA by *puruṣasya vidma, sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*

6 Phrase inflection

§635 In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21-2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question

punānāya prabhūvaso RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoh* RV

varuna mitra dāśuṣah (and °*ṣe*) RV (both) Sāyana and Grassmann take *dāśuṣah* as gen sg, Ludwig as acc pl

7 Miscellaneous

§636 The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories

pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasah RV *pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase* ArS

sūryo devo (KS * *divo*, so read both times, once ed reads *devo*, but there is a v l *divo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmana passage of the other) *divṣadbhyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS † *kṣatrasya*) *vāyuh prajābhyah* (KS *prajānam*) [*bṛhaspatis tvā prajāpataye juhotu*] TS KS (bis) In KS understand *divṣadbhyo* with each genitive 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātar for (those) of royal power' etc In the secondary TS the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye* 'Let Dhātar offer thee for royal power' etc

mayi dohah padyāyai virājah (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi*

padyāyaı vırājo dohah ŚŚ ŚG PG *mama padyāya vı rāja* ApMB 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Vırāj (see Oldenberg *SBE* 29 p 97, note on ŚG 3 7 5) [dwell],' most texts ApMB reconstructs the formula 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like Used in a foot-washing rite Note that *padyāyaı* is clearly felt as genitive, but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to *padyāya* in ApMB

8 Errors

§637 There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable

tuje janā (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS *tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ *balam*, conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahah* AA ŚŚ Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure

devasya (ŚB * *devebhyas*) *tvā savituh prasave 'svinor bāhubhyām pūşno hastābhyām ā dade* VS TS MS KS KSA ŚB (both) TB TA Kauś The dat form occurs at ŚB 14 2 1 6 which quotes VS 38 1 incorrectly, VS has *devasya* Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŚB omits the word *adityaı* before *rāsnāsi*, tho it is found not only in VS 38 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŚB 14 2 1 8 = VS 38 3 Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŚB has a mere misquotation of its source, VS , rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as *devebhyas tvā* (see Conc under these words)

[*athā* (AV *adhā*) *mano vasudeyāya kṛşva* (AV *kṛnusva*) RV AV Conc *vasudeyasya* for RV]

[*nışkā etı yajamānasya loke* (KS † *yajamānasya santu*) AV KS Conc *yajamānaıya* for KS]

C *Dative and locative*

1 After verbs

§638 The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf Delbruck, *AIS* §§80, 96, Speyer, *VSS* §§76, second part, 81b), and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639 In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used) In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning Such a phrase as *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB Vait SMB is equivalent to *yaśo me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) TA ŚŚ , whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me ' And so with the following variants after *dhā*

varco dhā yajñavāhase (VS ŚB °*si*) RV VS MS KS AB TB ŚB
dhehy asmabhyam (ApŚ *asmāsu*) *dravinam jātavedah* ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ
dhattād asmabhyam dravineha (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca*) *bhadram* TS MS ApŚ
asminn (TB *asmā*) *indra mahi varcāmsi dhehi* AV TB
āyur yajñāya (MS *yajñe*) *dhattam* MS TB ApŚ
āyur yajñapataye dhattam TB ApŚ *āyur yajñapatau* (sc *dhattam*) MS
sudevam indre aśvinā (MS *indrāyaśvinā*) VS MS TB The verb *dadhur* follows
athā nah (AV *adhā nah*, TS *athāsmabhyam*, RV * *tad asme*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (RV * MS °*tana*) RV (bis) AV VS TS MS KS N But *asme* may be dative

§640 While the preceding instances show *dhā* alone, in the next we find, beside *dha* with both dative and locative, forms of *dā* (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101)
ūrjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS PB ŠB LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehi* (TS * *dhattam*) VSK TS (both) KS GB TB Vait KŚ *ūrjam me dehi* (VSK TS *yacha*) VSK TS PB LŚ
śrotram mayi dhehi TS KSA † *srotram me dhattam* (AV MŚ *dāh*) AV TB ApŚ MŚ
cakşur mayi dhehi TS *cakşur me dhehi* (VS ŚB *dehi*, AV MS *dāh*) AV VS MS KS KSA ŚB
āyur mayi dhehi VS TS ŚB *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS

JB TB ApŚ *āyur me dhattam* TB ApŚ . *āyur me yacha* (ApŚ • *yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (bis) MŚ *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *āyur me dāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

tejo mayi dhehi AV VS TS KS ŚB TB LŚ ŚŚ ApMB *tejo me yacha* (TA *dhāh*, AŚ *dehi* and *dāh*) TS MS KS TA AŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ

rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °ṣī) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS ŚŚ *rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu* AŚ

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* VS TS PB ŚB TB ApŚ *varco me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) VSK MS KS JB TA ApŚ *varco me dehi* (MS MŚ *dāh*) VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ PG *varco me yacha* MS KS ApŚ MŚ

§641 In other cases the *dhā* form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with *dā*, or occasionally with other expressions of giving

svas te dadāmi MG *svas* (*suvas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* ŚB BṛhU PG HG Also with *bhūs* and *bhuvas* for *svas*, and with *bhūr bhuvah svas*

saho mayi dhehi (AV *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS TB Also with *balam* for *saho*, and cf next

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB *ojo me dāh* AV VS TB

payo me dāh (ApŚ *mayi dhehi*) MS ApŚ

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS *prajām me dāh* (KS ApŚ MŚ *yacha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

indro balam balapatir balam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu (TB *yajñe yajamānāya dadātu*) *svāhā* ŚB TB KŚ Likewise with *sarasvatī puṣṭim*, *savitā rāṣṭram*, *pūṣā bhagam* (*visām*), *bṛhaspatir brahma*, *varunah samrāṭ*, *somo rājā*, *mitrah kṣatram*, *agnir annādo*, *tvaṣṭā rūpānām* (*paśūnām*)

§642 The compound *ā-dhā* has the same two constructions

bhiyasam ā dhehi śatruṣu (SV *śatrave*) RV SV

rāṣṭrāny asmā ā dhehi (MS *asmin dhehi*) MS KS TB ApŚ

tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhāmi TB HG ApMB *tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā dadhāmi* AV (Ppp has *jarasa*)

Other expressings of placing and giving

§643 Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitām* (intending °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB 'May he support thee well supported unto (establish us well established in) rule'

yasmin (Kauś *yasmai*) *bhūtam ca bhavyam ca* Kauś HG ApMB The following verb is *pratiṣṭhitam* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś, *śritāḥ* in HG and *samāhitāḥ* ('based, established') in ApMB

§644 Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of *dā*, are used with both cases

tam devebhyah paridadāmi ApŚ *tam deveṣu paridadāmi vidvān* AŚ MŚ 'I give him over to the gods'

astṛto nāmāham asmi sa ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyām gopīthāya (KS *sa idam dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānam paridade tayoh śraye tayoh parākrame*) AV KS The verbs *ni-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases Here the dat is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat of purpose, the loc by the locs with the two other verbs

ihāsmāsu (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB * *iha mahyam*) *ni yachatam* RVKh AV MS KS TB (bis)

sa yajña dhukṣva mahi nc prajāyām (ŚŚ *prajāyai*) VS ŚŚ 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring'

ta āyajanta dravinam (MS KS † °*nā*) *sam asmai* (MS *asmin*) RV VS TS MS KS 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him But MS v l *asmai*

rarānas tmanā devebhyah (VS † TS † KS † *deveṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS In AV the dat depends on the following *svadayatu*, but in the YV texts it as well as the loc must depend on *rarānas* (the pāda division is here different from AV, see Whitney's note on AV)

śam padam magham †rayīṣine na kāmam (AA *rayiṣani na somah*) SV AA '(Grant) prosperity to him who seeks wealth' Keith understands *rayiṣani* as loc with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV Perhaps a verb like *dhā* could as well be understood

Verbs of uniting

§645 Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59)

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś *muñcatam*) AV Kauś *dviṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG *pāpam*) SMB HG ApMB '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy'

apriye (AV * *dviṣate*, RV *āptye*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV (bis)

yad dha krāṇā vivasvati (SV °*te*) RV SV Followed by *nābhā samdāyi* (SV °*ya*) *navyasī* (SV °*se*) Apparently both dat and loc depend on *sam-dā* 'unite', cf Ludwig 4 p 193 and Oldenberg ad loc

Verbs of bringing and the like

§646 In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion

devebhyo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV ApŚ Different contexts The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanah*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV *kāmāyāsmai*) RV. AV TS KS 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire'

yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made RV AŚ · *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vivakṣase* SV The governing verb is *vṛnīmahe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice) Cf §489

yad vo devāsa āgure (MS °*ri*) TS MS Followed by *havāmahe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing, cf prec

Verbs of saying

§647 It is well known that either dat or loc (as well as acc) may be used of the person spoken to Whether we should render the locs in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question

devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt (ŚB with ūha, *vocah*) VS ŚB *deveṣu nah sukṛto* (VSK *mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *sukṛtam ma deveṣu brūtāt* TS

pra mā (TS ApŚ *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °*dhān*, ApŚ °*dhām*, KS *dhavirdā* [read °*dām*?]) *devatāsu* (KS °*tabhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

Miscellaneous verbs

§648 The root *sthā* in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbruck *AIS* p 143) but also the locative

jyaiṣthye śraiṣthye ca gāthināh ŚŚ *dhṛtyai śraiṣthyāya gāthināh* AB Preceded by *devarātāya tasthire*

devā devebhyo (MS *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS °*riyanto*) *asthuh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§649 The verb *jāgṛ* 'watch (over)' also takes either case

yajamānāya jāgṛta ApŚ *evam asyām sūtikāyām, saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG *evam asyai suputrikāyai jāgrata* HG

§650 The verb *hu* 'pour, offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to'

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

pṛthivyām (KŚ °*vyā*) *amṛtam juhomi* AŚ KŚ ApŚ

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build'

sahasrākṣa (VS MS ŚB °*kṣo*) *medhāya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice' Cf VV 2 §342

§652 With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal

mayi (ApMB *mahyam*) *gṛhṇāmi tvām aham* VS ApMB 'I take thee (the oblation) to (for) myself'

§653 With the root *jan* 'produce' the psychology of the two cases is more distinct The variation in the first instance may be primarily phonetic, cf VV 2 §342

vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV TS VS MS KS PB ŚB

ajījano amṛta martyeṣv ā (SV *martyāya kam*) RV SV 'Thou hast produced among men (for man)'

2 With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654 That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbruck *AIS* §79

suprīto manuṣo viśi (SV *viśe*) RV SV

priyam mā brahmaṇi (ApMB °*ṇe*) *kuru* ApMB HG Parallel pādas have locs in both texts But there is no need to read *brāhmaṇe* or *brahmaṇi* in ApMB (cf Winternitz p xxiv), since the dative is equally sound

uta śūdra utārye AV *sūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV VS Both preceded by *priyam mā kṛṇu*

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevaḥ MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.

dhīrā deveṣu (KS * *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV °*yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB

sūyavasinī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣī*) *daśasyā* (TA °*ye*, TS MS KS *yasasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA In RV *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*, the others (including TA *manuṣe*) have locatives

3 Miscellaneous

§655 The remaining variants are miscellaneous

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG MG HG *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ ŚG PG *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB See §636

daśame māsi sūtave RV RVKh AV ŚB BṛhU ApMB MG *daśamāsyāya sūtavai* (ApMB °*ve*) HG ApMB 'In the tenth month' 'tenth-monthly' (adj)

pūṣṇe śarase (MS † *sarasi*, p p °*sah*) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS ŚB KŚ 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS apparently 'to P in the skin of milk') '

sam yujyāva (TS *babhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV TS *sam sanuyāva varīṣv ā* KS *sanibhyah* is dat of purpose (not abl , as Grassmann takes it), cf Oldenberg *Noten* on 1 17 2 and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v *ā* On the meaning of KS , 'in the waters', see von Schroeder's note

ise rāye (*rayyai*) *ramasva sahase dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB †*dyumna ūrje*) *'palyāya* (see VV 2 p 429) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ 'For splendor, for might' 'for might in splendor '

tanūnaptre śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā (KS *sakmann*) *ojiṣṭhāya* MS KS *tanūnaptre śākvarāya śakmann* (VS ŚB *śakvana*) *ojiṣṭhāya* VS VSK ŚB (see Conc under *āpataye tvā paripataye*) *sakmane śākvarāya śakmanā ojiṣṭhāya tvā gṛhnāmi* MŚ *sakmann ojiṣṭhāya tvā gṛhnāmi* TS *sakmann ojiṣṭhāya* TS GB *śakmana ojiṣṭhāya tvā* Vait The original (TS KS VSK) has loc of noun, 'in strength', the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong'

pṛthivyām agnaye samanaman sa ārdhnot AV *pṛthivyai sam anamat* TS TB

asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* (Ppp °*veṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś See §623

vāce svāhā VS etc *svāhā vāce* GB AG *vāci svāhā* TS In the latter the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb *dhāh*, not on *svāhā*

[*uttānāyai sayānīyai* ŚŚ *uttānāyām sayānāyām* AV RWh by em , but mss *uttamānāye śayānāyai*, intending the ŚŚ reading]

CHAPTER XXVI

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

A *Ablative and genitive*

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656 The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive

tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu MS KS ApŚ *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' 'may its blessing aid and increase me'

yasya (KS *yato*) *deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god'

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV SV Kauś 'From (of) it give to us that we may live'

mā parā seci mat payah (ŚŚ LŚ ŚG *no dhanam*, ApŚ * *nah svam*, ApMB * *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ ŚG ApMB (bis) PG HG MG 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc) be poured away' The ApMB reference with *mat payah* should be 2 9 14d

agnir etu prathamo devatābhyah SMB *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām* AG ŚG HG ApMB 'First from among (of) the gods'

apāsman (KS *apāsya*) *nairṛtān pāśān* KS ApŚ 'Away from him (KS literally, away his) bonds of destruction'

§657 Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen dual forms occur in one form of the variant They can only be taken in ablatival sense The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant pāda occur such forms as *gireh*, *svasuh* etc)

pari sarvebhyo jñātibhyah HG ApMB *pari pitroś ca bhrātoś ca* PG Followed in PG by *sakhyebhyo visṛjāmy aham*

§658 Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative The contexts are different

bhiṣagbhyo bhiṣaktarāh AV *bhiṣajām subhiṣaktamāh* AV

Case attraction

§659 Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction

tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad aitoh (AŚ † MŚ *ā mamaitoh*) TS AŚ MŚ Both mean 'until my return', in TS (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf Delbruck *AIS* pp 90, 431 and our §86) See Oertel 92

tvam nṛnām nṛpate (KS *tvam nṛbhyo nṛmano*) *jāyase śucih* RV VS TS MS KS TAA N Preceded by *tvam vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyah* 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS 'and from men, O thou mindful of men')' KS has *nṛbhyo* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas oṣadhībhyah*

B *Ablative and locative*

1 Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660 The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in

karkandhu jajñe madhu sārayham mukhāt (MS *mukhe*) VS MS KS TB 'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth'

§661 Here there is little practical difference Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in

tāh (VS ŚB *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya pṛṣthāt* (TS KS *pṛṣṭhe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *nāvaś caranti* (*nāvo vyanti*) 'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull' Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *pra* ('forth'), but also in MS which does not

§662 Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as

yadā mahah samvaraṇād (KS °*ṇe*) *vy asthāt* RV SV VS. TS MS KS KB ŚB 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure' (*mahah* in KS must be nom sg, in the others it may be this or abl sg, Oldenberg decides for the latter)

§663 These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two

cases generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself

eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*) RV AV TA 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction'

§664 The following additional examples occur, we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least

śivam prajābhyo 'hiṃsantam (KS † *ahiṃs°*) *pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS MS KS *°sthe*) *agnim* (TS *'gnim*) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khanāmaḥ* (TS KS † *°mi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni' In the same context

devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthād (TS MS *°sthe*) *agnim* (TS † *'gnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Add to VV 2 §910 Cf prec

apām yo madhyato (KS *madhye*) *rasas tam aham asmā gṛhṇāmi* KS TB 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters'

vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA *°yāt*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters'

divaḥ (MŚ *divi*) *śilpam avatatam* TB ApŚ MŚ

tam te (TS *idam te tad*) *vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life'

bāhucyuto (VS ŚB *grāvacyuto*) *dhiṣaṇāyā* (VS TS ŚB *dhiṣaṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS *°sthe*) RV VS TS KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te aṅśuḥ* Here it seems that KS must intend a fundamentally different meaning 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls)'

agniḥ prātahsavane (MS MŚ *°nāt*) *pātv asmān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ Perhaps MS asks for protection 'from (hostile) soma-pressings', cf MS 4 7 7 102 5 ff, the brāhmana dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Asuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies

ā mā sucarite (MŚ *°tād*) *bhaja* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Pre-

ceded by *pāhi māgne duścaritāt* (VS ŚB *pari māgne duścaritād bādhasva*) No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duścaritāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ Yet it can be defended in a way 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds'

2 With prepositions

§665 Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar* Both cases are found with them, but in different senses, and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*

tām te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG *ā* (HG om) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* HG ApMB 'In (from within) thy heart'

tasyāḥ (TB *tasyām*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV AV TB ŚŚ N 'From (in) her the seas flow forth'

yam aśvinā namuceṛ āsurād adhi (ŚŚ † *namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ Followed by *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* Cf Bloomfield *JAOS* 15 144 ff on the Namuci story Some verb, doubtless a form of *su*, is understood 'which (soma) the Aśvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci' The word *dadhi* in ŚŚ certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*

ye devā deveṣv (MS KS *devebhyo*) *adhi devatvam āyan* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods)' The abl with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen

samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi (RV * °*pah*) RV (bis) SV In different contexts Cf also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (SV °*pe*) *manīṣiṇah* RV SV

ya usriyā apyā (SV *apı yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV °*ni*) RV SV 'The cows from within (SV the cows within) the rock'

§666 On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc (and the acc) of goal with no difference of meaning

āsya yajñasyodṛcah VS ŚB *svasti mā sam vahāsya yajñasyodṛcı svāhā* AV *svasti mā sampārayāsya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ See §523

3 In adverbial forms

§667 Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablatival function remains They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases

āre (TS *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS °*na*) *uta pūruṣaghnam* (TS °*ne*) RV TS Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'

yās te rudra purastāt (AG *pūrvasyām diśi*) *senās tābhya eṣa balis tābhyas te namaḥ* (AG *senās tābhya enat*) AG PG Here there may be in the abl a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it

4 Case attraction

§668 The following (cf also *ā mā suvarte* etc , §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction

āre asman (MS NīlarU *asmin*) *ni dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU One ms and p p of MS read *asman* (*asmat*) If *asmin* is sound it must be attracted to the case of *āre* 'in this distant (place)' instead of 'far from us'

5 Phrase inflection

§669 Phrase inflection is found in the following

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* AV (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ samkasukāc ca yat* AV Both times Ppp reads *agnih samkusikaś ca yah* Caland *KZ* 34 456 f considers both AV pādas 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp (substantially) reads See §§433, 450

tṛtīyasyā ito divah ApMB *tṛtīyasyām ito divi* AV HG Wholly different contexts

añgād-añgāl lomno-lomnah RV AV ApMB *añge-añge lomni-lomni* AV In the first passage the abls depend on *vi vṛhāmi*, the second is followed by *yas* (sc *yakṣmas*) *te parvani-parvani*

6 Miscellaneous

§670 A few miscellaneous cases remain

mā te yuyoma samdṛśah AV *mā te vyoma samdṛśi* (LŚ † *samdaśa* [*iti*]) AA TA AŚ LŚ MG 'May we not be separated from sight of thee' 'may there be no *vyoman* (lacuna? TA comm *chidram*) in thy sight' In LŚ a form of *samdṛś* (either °*śah* or °*śe* would be possible) must be intended If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV), this should be added to VV 2 §631

varṣīyo (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatim dhāh* TS VS ŚB *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatau dhāh* MS KS Addressed to atmosphere 'Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer' The latter is doubt-

less original, the former a lect fac , with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'

[*ardhamāsyam prasūtāt pitryāvatah* JB (bis) Both passages have the abl , see Oertel, *JAOS* 19 (2d half), pp 112, 115]

C *Genitive and locative*

1 Locative of position adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen) Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw, in the first mentioned cases the gen seems clearly possessive

mayy aśīr (Ppp KS *mamāśīr*) *astu mayi* (Ppp KS † *mama*) *devahūtih* RV AV Ppp TS KS 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine) '

asmākam (TS *asmasu*) *santu asisah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚS

yad devānam (VS *deveşu*) *tryāyuşam* VS VSK ŚG SMB ApMB HG MG Preceded even in VS by *tryāyuşam jamadagneh, kaśyapasya tryāyuşam* (with slight variations in order) VS is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens in the others

tve rayah VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *tava rayah* MS MŚ *tava-tava rāyah* MS KS MŚ *to-to* (TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rayah* VS TS ŚB ApŚ

yat prthivyam (MahānU °*vya*) *rajah svam* TA MahānU 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth '

yā te patighnī tanūh HG *yā te patighnī tanūr* PG *yā te patighny* ŚG *yāsyām patighnī tanūh* ApMB 'What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her) '

dīrgham yac cakşur adhiter anantam AŚ *yad ahuś cakşur adhitav anantam* PB JB (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48 24R)

mā tvam harşīh srutam mayi PG *śrutam me mā pra hāsīh* RVKh

dhruvaidhi poşya (PG *poşye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam astu poşyā* AV 'Be steadfast in (with, *be*) me' 'let this woman be mine, prosperous '

vihāya rogam tanvah svāyāh (TA *tanvam svāyām*) AV TA 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body '

anvātansīt tvayi (MS °*tānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine) '

aham prajā ajanayam pṛthivyām (MG °*vyāḥ*, ApMB *pitṝnām*) RV ApMB MG 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers)'

akaḥ su (TA *sa*) *lokam sukṛtam pṛthivyāḥ* (VS ŚB °*vyām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth' The gen may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive

yasyā āśas (KS *imās*) *tanvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* AV KS *yasyā bahvyas* (RVKh VS *yasyām imā bahvyas*, TB *yasyai bahvīs*) *tanuo* (*tanuvo*) *vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* RVKh VS MS TB 'Whose (in whom) are smooth-backed forms'

asamātim gṛheṣu naḥ AV *gṛhanam asamartyai* TS See §486

patyau (ApMB *patyur*) *me śloka uttamaḥ* RV ApMB 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's)'

sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṛṣuḥ AV *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, v l *manā*, SMB Jorgensen *manav*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (varr, VV 1 §136) KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG Preceded by *madhuna samyutam yavam* 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the Sarasvatī (river)', AV The form *sarasvatyā* has been interpreted in all sorts of ways, as gen 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB comm, Stenzler, Caland), as instr (in spite of the sandhi, Oldenberg *SBE* 29 338), as abl (Jorgensen on SMB), and as dat (VV 1 §136) We now think gen or abl most likely

tāsu (sc *dikṣu*) *tvāntar jarasy ādadhāmi* AV *tāsam* (sc *diśām*) *tvā jarasa ādadhāmi* TB HG ApMB 'I establish thee in old age within them (unto their old age, i e unto as long life as the directions possess, so rightly TB comm)'

§672 Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc is parallel with another loc, on which the gen depends in the other form of the variant (cf §85)

asyā (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoḥ* (MG °*nyam*) AV MG (the latter also has a v l *nāryām*) *asyām nāryām gavīnyam* RVKh ApMB 'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' 'in this woman, in her canal' Assuming that the gen is original, we may see case-attraction in the loc

śūṣam na madhye nābhyām (MS °*yāḥ*) VS MS TB 'In the middle, (viz) in the navel' 'in the middle of the navel' As prec

ye 'do (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB *vāmī*, NīlarU *cāmī*) *rocane divaḥ* (NīlarU *dim*) RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB NīlarU As prec The phrase *rocane divaḥ* is standard from RV on, clearly case-assimilation in NīlarU

pṛṣṭhe pṛthivyā (AV *nābhā pṛthivyām*) *nihito davidyutat* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB As prec , Ppp is reported by Whitney to read *pṛthivyāh*, which is standard after *nābhā* (see Conc under this initial)

§673 To these we may append a case in which the loc noun which governs the possessive gen is omitted in the variant form, thus compelling the use of loc instead of gen

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner of all (in the burner of all) '

§674 Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl in form, is essentially loc in meaning, Ppp uses a loc of the noun instead of the gen

asambādham badhyato (read *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp *°veṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś See §623 'In the midst of men 'in the midst, among men '

§675 The gen after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless to be felt as objective in character

syāma sumnasyādhrigo (SV *sumne te adhrigo*) RV SV Preceded by *ni nediṣṭhatamā iṣah* 'Let us be nearest to the draught, to (in) thy grace '

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it, tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyam tvat RV *tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam it, tvām maho vṛṇate* (TB ApŚ add *naro*) *nānyam tvat* SV KS TB ApŚ 'Him they choose alike at the small oblation and at the large' 'thee they choose alike for (equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen fur') the small' etc For the gen with words of likeness cf Speyer *VSS* §70c

§676 Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are practical equivalents

ahih śayata upapṛk pṛthivyāh (TB *°vyām*) RV MS TB N

nanāndari samrājñī bhava RV SMB ApMB *nanānduh samrājñy edhi* AV 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law ' In the same verse

samrājñī śvaśrvām (*svasruvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB *samrajñy uta śvasrvāh* AV

prācyām disi (AV *prācyā diśas*) *tvam indrāsi rajā* AV TS MS KS In the same verse

utodīcyām vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi TS MS KS *utodīcyā diśo vṛtrahan chatruho 'si* AV

2 After the preposition *antar*

§677 Delbruck AIS p 445 f ignores the construction of *antar* with the gen , which is however indubitable, cf §142 In the following

variant gen and loc with *antar* interchange Tho another loc follows, the gen cannot depend upon it

ukhāyāh (TS °*yai*, MS KS °*yām*) *sadane sve* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*

3 Adverbial uses

§678 In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time On the gen of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 79 6

dive-dive (AV *divo-divo*) *ā suvā bhūri paśvah* AV KS TB AŚ ŚŚ *dive-dive* is certainly loc in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA* 62 [1931] 20)

madhu naktam utoṣasah (KS °*sā*, TS TA °*si*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś See §584

aktor vyuṣṭau parītakmyāyah (and °*yam*) RV (both) Uncertain, see *RVRep* on 5 30 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*

§679 The following variant is also obscure and dubious We are inclined to feel that both *parīnasah* and °*si* are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully' Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc we incline to separate the word from *kasya* But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen with *dhiyo*, which is perhaps also possible

kasya nūnam parīnasah (SV °*si*) RV SV Followed by *dhiyo jinvasi dampate* (SV *satpate*)

4 Dependent on verbs

§680 Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501)

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tava (SV *tve*) *viśve sajoṣasah* RV SV Followed by *devāsah pītim āśata* Here *pītim āśata* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen and loc are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant, so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tve* as dependent on *sajoṣasah* Wackernagel 3 p 462 quotes *tve* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form

§681 The gen in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be partitive, it may be influenced by the gen in the following clause

yā sarasvatī vešabhagīnī tasyā no (ApŚ *viśobhagīnā tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāsma* KS ApŚ 'Grant us (me) [a share] of (in) her'

§682 With the verb *adhi-i* 'think on' the gen (or acc) is regular In the following variant MG has a loc, perhaps influenced by thought of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (*adhi* + loc) It should also be noted that the following pāda (*yeṣu saumanasam mahat* in MG) has a loc which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some influence

yeṣām (MG *yeṣv*) *adhyeti pravasan* AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG HG MG

5 Transfer of epithet

§683 Transfer of epithet (§§14–6) is found in the following

śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ See §447

svasty apsu vrjane svarvati (MG † *vrajane svarvatah*) RV AB MG 'In the bright place' 'in the path of the bright one' The original has an epithet of *vrjane*, which MG changes to an independent form Some MG mss point to the RV reading

6 Miscellaneous

§684 The rest are unclassifiable

ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīnām* AV Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadīnām* worth giving, see VV 2 §833

samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu MS *samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KA See §607

agnā u (ŚB also *agner*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu vaujhak* ŚB (both) AŚ Ritualistic nigmarole, various case-forms of *agni* are used in mechanical modulations of the formula

asūrte (MS KS °*tā*, KapS °*tāh*) *sūrte rajasi nisatte* (MS *nisattā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS KapS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of RV 10 123 1, which contains *rajaso vimāne*

mā no (*mā*) *hiṃsīj janitā yah pṛthivyāh* (KapS °*yām*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS KapS ŚB ApŚ Raghu Vira emends to °*yāh* (cf Oertel 19), but the loc can be construed with the following pāda

CHAPTER XXVII

SINGULAR AND PLURAL

1 *Generalizing singular and plural*

§685 Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112–7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective, but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically, rather all 'sacrifices' in general) And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds', 'food' or 'foods', 'praise' or 'praises', 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual So notably with the word *agni* 'fire' (§691) At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires) Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740) It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular, and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary

Āmredita compounds

§687 Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun the use of repeated

(*āmredita*) compounds They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus Once a plural *āmredita* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent In another case a singular *āmredita* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *visva*, can only mean substantially the same thing

viśo-visah pravisivāṅsam īmahe AV *viśvasyām viśi pravivisivānsam* (KS † *pravivisānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS

ruho ruroha (TB *roham-roham*) *rohita ā ruroha* AV TB

§688 We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with

§689 (1) *Words connected with the ritual* Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (*yajña*) and its more specific designations (*havya, havis*, etc)

asman rāya uta yajñāh (KS † *yajñah*) *sacantām* TS KS ApŚ *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS

yajñam yad yajñavāhasah AV *yajñair vā* (TB *vo*) *yajñavāhasah* RV TS TB

tvaṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ *rūpena*) *samanaktu yajñaih* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ

bodhāmasi tva haryasva yajñaih (MŚ *yajñe*) RV SV MŚ See §602

yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made RV AŚ *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vivakṣase* SV

brahma yajñah (MS *yajñāh*) *pṛthivīm dhārayanti* AV MS

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havya*) *vahatu prajānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB Vait MŚ Kauś MG

havya marteṣu ranyati RV *havyam martāsa indhate* SV

jatavedah prati havyā gṛbhāya AV SMB *jātavedo havir idam juṣasva* AŚ ApŚ MŚ HG

agnir havih (AV VS TS MS *havyam*) *śamitā sūdayati* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS *agnir havyāni siṣvadat* RV *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV

atandro havyā (SV *havyam*) *vahasi haviṣkṛte* RV SV

yajñair juhoti haviṣā yajuṣā (TB *juhoti yajuṣā havirbhih*) AV TB *yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhih* RV AV TS MS KS

purā satyād (TB *diṣṭād*) *āhutim hantv asya* (TB *āhutīr asya hantu*) AV TB

ya āhutim (JUB °*tīr*) *atyamanyanta devāh* AV JUB *tās te gachantv āhutim* (KS °*tīr*) *ghṛtasya* TS KS

pitara āyuṣmantas te svadhayāyuṣmantaḥ (PG *svadhābhir āyuṣ°*) TS PG

§690 The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma, prasasti, arka, uktha, brahman, mati, sūkta, yajus, sāman*) Here also may be placed the variants involving the words *dhī, veda, chandas*, and several others that have to do with meter

taved u stomam (SV *stomaiś*) *cāketa* RV AV SV

stomena pratī bhūṣati RV *stomebhir bhūṣati prati* SV

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV † *prasastaye*, AV VSK *°tibhiḥ*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

tava prasastayo mahīḥ (SV *°śastaye mahe*) RV SV

yam mitram na praśastibhiḥ (SV *°taye*) RV SV

ghṛtenārkam abhy arcanti vatsam AV *tam arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB

agnir ukthena vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV

vocad brahmāṇi (SV *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV SV See §269

sam brahmaṇā (AV *°nam*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devahitam*) *yad asti* RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See §587

idam brahma pipṛhi saubhagāya MS *ima brahma pīpihi saubhagāya* VS KS ŚB (Eggeling wrongly considered *bráhma* a vocative)

ato matīr (SV *matim*) *janayata svadhabhiḥ* RV SV

imā (TS *imām*) *rudrāya tavase kapardine, kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe matīḥ* (TS *matim*) RV VS TS MS KS

sūkta (KS *sūktam*) *brūhi* VS MS KS TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ṛksāmābhyām samtarantu yajurbhiḥ (TS *°bhyām yajuṣa samtarantaḥ*) VS TS KS ŚB MŚ

prastotaḥ sāma gāya MS ApŚ *prastotaḥ samani gāya* MS TA KŚ ApŚ (MS p p *sāma*)

udgātaḥ sāmāni (MŚ 2 5 4 25, 4 4 11 *sama*) *gaya* GB MŚ (MŚ 4 2 10 has *sāmāni*, but v l *sāma*)

tatvāya savitā dhiyaḥ (VS *dhiyam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

vedasya (MG *vedānam*) *nidhipo bhūyāsam* AG PG MG

chandāṃsi (KS *chando*) *gacha svahā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

chandasā (MS *chandobhir*) *hansaḥ śucişat* VS MS KS TB

gāyatram chando anu samrabhadhvam MS *gayatrim chandāṃsy anu samrabhantam* KS ApŚ

dvipadā yā catuṣpadā (VS *yāś catuṣpadāḥ*), *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS *yāś ca ṣatpadāḥ*), *vichandā yā* (VS *yās*) *ca sachandāḥ* (TS KSA *sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA Supply *ṛc* or *ṛcah*

avasyuvātā bṛhatīr nu śakvarīḥ (MS KS *bṛhatī na śakvarī*, AŚ *bṛhatī tu śakvarī*) TS MS KS AŚ Followed by

imam yajñam avatu (TS *avantu*) *yā* (TS AŚ *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS *°cīḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ *diśām devy* (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS MS AŚ

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yantu*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV MS † *sūriḥ*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāḥ*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

§691 The sacrificial fire See above, §686 It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general

te asmā (KS *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 °*yo*) *dravinam* (KS °*nāni*) *dattvā* MS KS ApŚ

agnir me hotā sa mopahvyatām ŚB *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait The last no doubt refers definitely to the three sacred fires

agnaye sviṣṭakṛte svāhā TB TAA etc *agnibhyah sviṣṭakṛdbhyah svāhā* KŚ The latter refers to the three fires

agnim (ApŚ *agnīn*) *samādhehi* MS MŚ ApŚ

ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayah TB ApŚ *ihaiva san* (MŚ *sans*, so also TB Poona ed) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB AŚ MŚ

raudrenānīkena pāhi māgne (VS Vait *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ Vait 18 8 Followed by

pipṛta māgnayah (KS *pipṛhi māgne*) VS KS Vait

ye agnayo apsv antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye aśmasu AV *yo apsv antar agnir yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo aśmani* MS KS ApŚ Ppp also intends the latter reading

§692 Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual

ukhyam (AV *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhratah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

samidham (Kauś HG °*dha*) *ā dhehi* ŚB ŚG Kauś SMB PG GG HG

asāv etat te vāsah GG *etad vah pitaro vasah* (VS *vāsa ādhatta*) VS VSK AŚ SMB *etani vah pitaro vasānsi* ApŚ HG The 'clothing' is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the Pitrs

ā me graho bhavatv (KSA *grahā bhavantv*) *ā purorug* TS KSA

bṛhaspatisutasya graham gṛhnāmi (KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*, VS VSK ŚB *grahān ṛdhyāsam*, MS *graham rādhyasam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

nir āhāvān (KS °*vam*) *kṛnotana* RV TS KS Followed or preceded by *sam varatrā* (KS °*trān*, i e °*trām*) *dadhatana*, same texts

śṛnvantv āpo dhiṣanās ca devīh (MS * *dhiṣana ca devī*) VS TS MS (bis) KS ŚB In MS both passages show both readings in the mss , von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages

upāstāvah kalaśah (MŚ °*vāh kalaśāh*) *somo agnih* (MŚ *somadhānāh*) TS MŚ ApŚ

ṛkvānam gharmam abhi vāvaśānā RV AV N *trīn gharmān abhi vāva-*

śānā AV Tho the passages are obscure, there is little doubt that *gharma* is a ritualistic word, probably the pot in which the milk is beated (so Oldenberg *RVNoten*), or perhaps the hot milk itself (Bloomfield *SBE* 42 590 is doubtful which is meant)

[*ā dadhnah kalaśair* (ApMB *kalaśīr*, MG *kalaśam*) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann iva*, MG *airayam*) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG But see §412]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts As for *agni* (§691), it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drink

ukthaśā yaja somānām (AA * KŚ * ApŚ * MŚ * *somasya*) AA (bis) KŚ (bis) ApŚ (ter) MŚ (ter) *om ukthaśā yaja somasya* AA

somasyāgne (ŚŚ * *somānām agne*) *vīhi* AB GB AŚ ŚŚ (bis) Vait ApŚ

suta indrāya vāyave, somo arṣati viṣṇave RV *sutā indrāya vāyave, somā arṣanti* (SV °*tu*) *viṣṇave* RV SV The pāda *sutā indrāya vāyave* appears in PB as a pratīka, and again in RV followed by *somaso dadhyāśirah*

te (RV **sa*) *viśvā dāśuṣe vasu, somā* (RV **somo*) *divyāni pārthivā* RV (bis) SV The *tṛca* containing the plural is surrounded by *tṛcas* referring to *soma* in the sing It may be suspected (cf *RVRep* on 9 36 4) that the plurals accompany a plurality in the ritual

indra piba sutānām RV *imam indra sutam piba* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savane mā* (read in AV *savanemā*, TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ajagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

made susipram (SV *madeṣu sipram*) *andhasah* RV SV See VV 2 §839

[*pavamāna* (SV °*nā*, misprint) *vidhharmani* RV SV]

§694 Other materials offered, including ghee, *medas*, *masara*, *idā*, *purodasa*

tvām agne pradiva āhutam ghṛtena (RV *ghṛtaih*) RV TB ApŚ

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (A^{V} *ghṛtā cit*) AV VS TS MS

ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūdire*) RV AV MS KS N *īd it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vy undhi* (KS *vyundan*) RV KS

ghṛtam (SV *ghṛtā*) *vasanah pari yasi nirnijam* RV SV

srucāyāni juhvatah AV *srucāyyena juhvatah* TB Poona ed (Conc with Bibl Ind ed corruptly *srucanyena juhvata*)

viśvebhyo devebhya (MŚ °*bhyah*) *usrānām chāgānām meṣānām* (MŚ *ch° m° usr°*) *vapānam medasām anubrūhi* (MŚ *medaso 'nubrūhi*) ApŚ MŚ Also with *preṣya* for *anubrūhi*

candravapayor medasām anubrūhi (and *preṣya*) ApŚ *hayasya chāgasyosrasya candravapānām medaso 'nubrūhi* (and °*sah preṣya*) MŚ
medasah (VSK *medasa*) *svāhā* VS VSK MS TB *medobhyah svāhā* VS
asthi majjānam māsaṁah (MS *māsaram*) VS MS KS TB
sajūr agnir vaisvānara idābhih TS *sajūr vaisvanara idayā* (VSK *ilayā*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB
iṣam no mitrāvarunā kartanedam AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedāh* SV
avīvṛdhat purodāśena (VSK °*vṛdhota purolāśena*) VS VSK *avīvṛdhanta purodāśaih* (°*lāśaih*) VS VSK KS *avīvṛdhetām purodāsena* (AŚ °*dāśaih*) MS AŚ
agnim adya hotāram purodāsam (°*sān*) *grhnann* (*badhnann*, etc.) VS VSK MS KS TB Six items, see Conc.

§695 Priestly personages and the yajamāna

somaś ca yo brāhmanān (TA °*nam*) *āvivesa* RV AV TA
brāhmanah (MS *brāhmanāh*) *santih* MS TA
punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*, Ppp *brahmāno*) *vasunītha* (*vasunītir*, °*dhītam*, °*dhīte*) *yajñaih* (*agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
gīrbhir viprah pramatim ichamanah (TB *°viprah ichamānāh*) RV MS KS TB (bis) AŚ *dhībhir viprāh pramatim ichamānāh* RV MS
sa indra stomavāhasām (SV °*hasa*) *iha srudhi* RV SV
mā te risann upasattāro agne (and, *upasattāro grhānām sāle*) AV (both) *mā ca risad upasatta te agne* VS TS MS KS
praitu hotus camasah pra brahmanah prodgātīnām (ApŚ MŚ *prodgātuh*, ApŚ also *ūha*, *prodgatīnām*) *pra yajamānasya* (ApŚ adds *pra sadasyasya*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
agnir daivīnām (ŚB KŚ *ha daivīnām*) *visām puraetāyam* (MŚ °*yam sunvan*) *yajamāno manusyānām* ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *agnir daivīnām visām puraeteme sunvanto yajamāna manusyānām* MŚ
muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim anhasah svāhā KS *muñcemam anhasah* TS TB *muñcemān amūn anhasah svāhā* AV
śravase no maghonah (SV *maghonam*) RV SV
tena yantu yajamānāh svasti MS *tenaitu yajamānah svasti* (KS *°ApŚ svastyā*) TS KS (ter) ApŚ On this plural see VV 1 p. 258
nayanto garbham vanām dhiyam dhuh RV *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV See §399

§696 The dakṣinā

yat pūrtam yās ca dakṣināh VS ŚB *yad dattam yā ca dakṣinā* TS
dakṣinābhyah (KSA *dakṣinābyaı*) *svāhā* TS KSA
rg vasā brhadrathamtare garbhah praisanivido jarāyu yajño vatso dakṣinā (ApŚ *dakṣināh*) *pīyūsah* KS ApŚ
yajñas ca dakṣinā ca (ApMB °*nās ca dakṣine*) ŚG ApMB

§697 (2) Divine personages

yad devā devam ayajanta viśve RV *yad devā devān haviṣāyajanta* AV Different contexts, no specific god seems to be meant in RV

ādityam (RV VS TS MS ŚB *ādityān*) *viṣṇum sūryam* RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasprte (MU °*smṛte*) KSA MU *nama ādityebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo dunkṣidbhyo lokakṣidbhyah* ChU

vi parjanyam (TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyah srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS

dīkṣāpālāya vanatam (TB °*pālebhyo 'vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ

āmanasya devā (MS °*va*) *yā* (MS *yāh*, KS *yās*) *stṛiyah* TS MS KS

āmanasya devā (MS °*va*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāsah*) MS KS

āmanasya devā (MS MŚ °*va*) *ye sajātāh* TS MS KS MŚ 'The god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course is also invented for the occasion

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*tayo*) *vratam acārisam* (MS *acārsam*) MS TA Kauś

anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS *dīkṣāpatayo manyadhvam*) *anu* (ŚB • °*patir amanstānu*) *tapas tapaspatih* (KS °*patayah*) VS TS KS ŚB GB Vait *anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām anu dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir añjasa* MS *upa mā dikṣāyāni dīkṣapatayo hvayadhvam* MS

nisañgine (HG °*gibhyah*) *svāhā* ApMB HG *nisañgin* = Rudra, the plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts

nisañgina upa sprśata HG *nisañginn upa sprśa* ApMB

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS ŚB *rtavo 'dhipataya āsan* MS KS Perhaps better to be placed with §709

vasūnām pavitram asi TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ *vasoh pavitram asi* VS KS ŚB KŚ

vasavaś cātisthan vasudhātaraś ca AV *vasus cetisthо vasudhātamas ca* VS TS MS KS The latter is original, Ppp agrees with it (*JAOS* 42 108)

indraghoṣas (MS KS °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhih purastat pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah pu*° *pāntu*, MS *tvā purastad vasubhih pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *indraghoṣā vo vasubhih purastād upadadhatam* TA The meaning of *indraghoṣa* and the corresponding terms in the next two variants is uncertain, some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuna respectively)

manojavās tvā pitrbhir (KS *pitaro*) *dakṣinatah patu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS

KS ŚB *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣinatah pāntu* MS *manojavaso vah pitṛbhir dakṣinata upadadhatām* TA

pracetās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS *pracetā vo rudraih paścād upadadhatām* TA

dhiṣanās tvā devīr visvadevyāvatih (MS *dhiṣana tvā devī viśvadevyavatī*) *pṛthivyāh sadhasthe añgirasvad* (TS *'ñgi°*) *abhīndhatām* (MS * *abhīnddhām*, **abhīndhātam*) *ukhe* VS TS MS (bis) KS ŚB Cf VV 1 p 255

varūtrīṣ tvā (KS *°trīs tvā*, TS *°trayo janayas tva*) *devīr visvadevyāvatīh* VS TS KS ŚB †*varutrī* (and *varū°*) *tvā devī viśvadevyavatī* MS (bis) Cf prec

revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā a viśa* VS † ŚB † *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhavisata* TS ApŚ The singular, according to ŚB, is Vāc The plural is variously interpreted of different semi-deified entities

[*ādakām khādena* TS † KSA No variant The word is explained by TS comm as *bhakṣayitri devata*, as if 'eater']

§698 (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like

pra no yacha bhuvas (AV *visam*) *pate* AV TS *pra no yacha* (KS *rāsva*) *viśas pate* RV MS KS

svastidā viśas (AV MahānU *visam*) *patih* RV AV ṢB AdB TB TA TAA MahānU ApŚ VHDh

janam ca mitro yatati bruvanah RV *mitro janān yātayati bruvānah* (TS ApŚ * *prajanan*, TB ApŚ * *janan kalpayati prajanan*) RV TS KS TB AŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ N

janāya vṛktabarhise RV *janaso vṛktabarhiṣoh* RV

yakṣma yanti janād (AV ApMB *janan*) *anu* RV AV ApMB

bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janah (TS *tvā janā viduh*) AV TS *yam tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate* VS MS KS ŚB

yah samgrāmān (TS MS *°mam*) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vasī* (TS MS *sam vasi yudhe*, KS *sam vaśī yudhā*) AV TS KS MS

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS

trāyatām (AV *trāyantām*) *marutām ganah* (AV *ganah*) RV AV

aśastihā vṛjanam (SV *vṛjana*) *raksamanah* RV SV

grāmam sajānayo gachanti ApMB † *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG

vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutra RV VS ŚB *vidmā te sadma vibhṛtam purutrā* TS MS KS ApMB

sugā vo devāh sadanā (N *sadanam*, KŚ Kauś °*nāni*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KS Kauś *santu*) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *sugā vo devāś sadanedam astu* KS *svagā vo devāh sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ

ta āvavṛtran sadanād ṛtasya (TS *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS † *sadanāni rātvī*) RV AV TS MS KS (both) N

yeṣām (RVKh *teṣām*) *apsu sadas* (TS ApMB °*dah*) *kṛtam* RVKh VS TS ŚB NtlarU ApMB *ye apsu ṣadānsi* (KS *'psu sadānsi*) *cakrire* MS KS

apām sadhiṣi sīda TS *apām tva sadhiṣi* (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB

sadhastheṣu (RV * *sadhasthe va*) *maho divah* RV (bis) SV

etam sadhastha (AV KS °*sthah*) *pari te* (AV KS *vo*) *dadāmi* AV VS TS KS ŚB MŚ *sadhastha* = *loka*

tābhir vahainam sukṛtam u lokam (TA *vahemam sukṛtam yatra lokah*) RV AV TA *vahāmi mā* (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *sukṛtam yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB ApŚ

jātavedo vahemam (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtam yatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*) TA ŚŚ *jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayasy*?) *enam sukṛtam yatra lokah* JB

śundhatām lokah pitṛṣadanah TS ApŚ *śundhantam* (AV *śumbhantām*) *lokāh pitṛṣadanah* AV VS MS KS ŚB MŚ

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu (TA *jihīrṣva lokan kṛdhi*) AV TA

te brahmalokeṣu (TA °*loke tu*) *parāntakale* TA MahānU MundU KaivU

viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanam RV *vidvāñ arodhanam divah* RV KS

yasminn idam visvam bhuvanam adhi śritam TS *yasmin visvani bhuvanani* (MS *visvā bhuvanadhi*) *tasthuh* RV VS MS

antarikṣasya dhartrīm viṣṭambhanīm disam adhipatnīm bhuvanānām (MS *disām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS MS KS ŚB *viṣṭambhanī disām adhipatnī bhuvanānam* TS

tvaṣṭedam visvam bhuvanam jajana VS TS KSA *tvaṣṭemā viśva bhuvanā jajāna* MS

sa idam viśvam (TS TB *sa visvā bhuvo*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV TS TB *sa visvā bhuva ābhavah* RV AV

sa viśvam (AV *visva*) *prati cakḷpat* (AV °*pe*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

na tam vidatha ya imā (TS KS *idam*) *jajana* RV VS TS MS KS N *ima* = *bhuvanani*, *idam* = *visvam*, or the like

bhūtasya (PB *bhūtanam*) *jātah patir eka asīt* RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS KSA PB ŚB N

tena (TS *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *roha = svarga*

svargam arvanto jayema Vait *svargān* (AŚ text, *svagān'*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ *jayatah*) SV AŚ ŚŚ *svargān* (text *svagān*) *arvato jayatı* AŚ

abhīmam (TS MŚ † °*mām*, MS MŚ v l °*mān*) *mahınā* (VS °*mā*, delete MŚ v l in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

sa vājī rocanā (SV *rocanam*) *divah* RV SV

ye aprathethām amıtā yojanānı (ArS *amıtam abhı yojanam*) AV ArS

vidānā asya yojanam (SV °*nā*) RV SV

tredhā nı dadhe padam (AV MS *pada*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB N The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the plural

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padanı*) *yopayanto* RV AV TA MG

parācīm (RV °*cīr*) *anu samvatam* (RV °*tah*) RV AV

ūrvān (SV *ūrvam*) *dayanta gonām* RV SV VS

adhvana skabhnīta (VS *skabhnuvantah*) VS TS *vajam ajıno jayatādhvānam* (KS °*dhvanas*) *skabhnuvanto yojanā mımanāh* MS KS (The MS passage is entered in the Conc also under *aahvanam* etc) *vājıno vajajito 'dhvana* (VSK *vajino vajam jayatadhvana*) *skabhnuvanto yojanā mımanah kāstham gachata* VS VSK ŚB

āgatya vajy adhvānam (TS ApŚ *adhvanah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tıra svastı me 'smın pathi devayāne bhūyāt VS *adhvanām adhvapate svastı me 'dyāsmın devayane pathi bhūyāt* PB *adhvano adhipatır asi svastı no 'dyāsmın devayāne pathi stāt* (read *syāt*) ŚŚ

tırah purū cid arnavam jaganvān (SV *arnavān jagamyāh*) RV AV SV

ghrtasya kulyām anu TS MS KS ŚB *ghrtasya kulya upa* VS VSK

kṣetrasya (VS TS KS *kṣetrānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

samū bhavantūdvato (TS °*vatā*) *nipādah* TV TS KS

antan pṛthivyā divah TB ApŚ *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ

vavrān anantān (AV *vavram anantam*) *ava sa padīsta* RV AV

[*atrā* (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādanā* (TA °*nāt*) *te mınotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV † TA See §496]

hradāś ca pundarīkānı RV *hrado vā pundarīkavān* AV 'Ponds (and) lotus-pools' 'a pond full of lotuses'

eṣa te janate rājā MS KS MŚ *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ This formula, used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janata* In ApŚ

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type *eṣa vaḥ pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keith suggests on TS 1 8 10 2 n 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāḥ* of this formula

§699 (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men), and first, plants

antarikṣāya tvā vanaspataye (KS °*patibhyaḥ*) KS MŚ

vanaspatayā ulūkān MS *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS

vanaspataye (sc *namaḥ*) ŚG *vanaspatibhyaḥ* (sc *namaḥ*) MG MDh

vanaspataye svāhā Kauś *vanaspatibhyaḥ svāhā* VS TS MS KS KSA TB ApŚ

addhi tṛnam aghnye viśvadānīm RV AV KŚ ApŚ N *attu tṛnāni* SMB GG, and cf the other references in the Conc under this last quotation, all of which have the plural

aṅśum (AV *aṅśūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ *gabhasti*) *hariṭebhir āsabhiḥ* AV KS ApŚ

dūrvā rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ (AV *rohatu puṣpiṇī*) RV AV Some mss of AV, followed by comm and SPP, read as RV, and Ppp likewise, as reported by Whitney

śatamūlā śatāṅkurā TA MahānU *śatamūlāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU The pādas refer to the *dūrvā*-plant, singular or plural

avakām (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS p p *avakāṃ*) *dantamūlair* VS MS KSA ŚB

aghadviṣṭā devajūtā, vīruc chapathayopanī AV *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtā, vīdu chapathajambhanīḥ* ApŚ Tho ApŚ is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows Caland translates as tho singular, evidently using the AV readings in part

adhā (*athā*) *satakratvo* (°*kratavo*, °*krato*) *yūyam*, see §229a Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing *amba* in pāda a, to this MS KapS assimilate the adjective

§700 Animals Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below

jagatām (MS KS *jagatas*) *pataye namaḥ* VS TS MS KS

ā vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadaiḥ*) *saha* AV AG PG HG MG ApMB PG 's *jagada* (cf VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion', then 'the calf with its companions'

gaur aśvaḥ puruṣaḥ paśuḥ AV TA *gām aśvam puruṣam jagat* (AV

paśum, RVKh *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV TA MahānU. ApMB HG *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ

tvayā gām asvam puruṣam (HG *gā asvān puruṣān*) *sanema* AV HG

ghṛtenāktau paśūns (VSK TS KS ApŚ *paśum*) *trāyethām* VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

paśūn (TS *paśum*) *na gopā vryah parivmā* RV TS KSA

oṣadhībhyah paśave no (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS MŚ ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

askan gām rṣabho yuvā KŚ *askān rṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ

yad amuṣnītam avasam panim gāh (TB *goh*) RV TB See §505

upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhāh ŚB *upahūtā dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*) TS TB AŚ ŚŚ

nṛbhir yatah kṛnute nirnijam gāh (SV *gām*) RV SV *gāh* (*gām*) = milk

vatsam jātam na dhenavah (SV *mātarah*, AV *jātam vāghnivā*) RV AV SV

payo ghṛheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB ApŚ *aghnivāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ *payo aghnyāsu payo vatseṣu* MŚ

marutām pṛṣatīr (VSK *pṛṣatīm*) *vacha* VS VSK ŚB

ardhāhīn (TS °*he*, KSA °*heh*) *sthūlagudayā* (MS *sthūrag*°, TS KSA *sthūragudā*) VS † TS MS † KSA

rabhīyasa (MS TB Poona ed °*bhīyānsam*) *iva kṛtvī karad evam devo vanaspatir juṣatām havih* VS MS KS TB The Hotṛ is to 'make stronger' a number of sacrificial animals

tatrastam (VS KS °*tān*) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrakṣat* VS MS KS TB In the same passage as the preceding

babhruvah saumyāh VS MS ApŚ *babhruh saumyah* VS TS KSA

visvebhyo devebhyah pṛṣatān (MS * °*tah*) VS MS (bis) *viśveṣām devānām pṛṣatah* VS

ākhuh sṛjayā śayandakas te maitrāh (KSA ms *śayāndakās te maitryāh*) TS KSA *śārgah sṛjayah śayāndakas te maitrāh* VS MS Von Schroeder emends KSA to the TS reading—with doubtful justice

kapota (MS °*tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS KSA *nairṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA The p p of MS reads *kapotāh*, but despite this it is probably only MS 's peculiar sandhi for *kapótah úlūkah*

§701 Human beings General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as well as the word *mṛta* in one variant, also one variant involving a designation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svapant*)·

mā hiṁsīh puruṣam jagat VS TS MS KS ŚvetU *mā hinsīt puruṣān mama* NīlarU

ajīyano amṛta martyeṣv ā (SV *martyāya kam*) RV SV

niveśayann amṛtam martyam (TB *amṛtān martyāṅś*) *ca* RV VS TS MS TB

jīvām ṛtebhyah (read *mṛtebhyah*) *parinīyamānām* AV *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāso abhy etu*) *vāhaih* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

yā svapantam bodhayati (HG *svapatsu jāgarti*) ApMB HG Sec §548

§702 Words denoting family relationships, including *sakhi*, and *prajā* in its various meanings

suprajāh prajabhih (VS *prajābhi*, ?misprint for °*bhih*, VSK *prajayā*, ŚŚ *prajabhir*) *syām* (VSK ŚŚ *bhūyāsam*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ *suprajāh prajābhih syāma* (VSK *prajayā bhūyāsam*) VS VSK ŚB

dive pṛthivyai sam ca prajāyai (SV *prajābhyah*) RV SV

dhātā prajāyā (AŚ *prajanām*) *uta rāya īśe* TS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB

prajā (Vait *prajām*) *jinva* TS KS PB Vait

prajābhyah svāhā TS KSA TB *prajāyai svahā* TB

prajāh (AG PG *prajam*) *pra janayāvahai* JUB AG PG *prajām ā janayāvahai* AV

prajah (KapS *prajam*) *piparti bahudhā* (RV VS *puposa purudha*) *vi rājati* RV SV ArS VS MS KS KapS ApŚ Oertel 12

prajāpatir janayati prajā imah AV *prajām dadatu* (KS *pipartu*) *parivatsaro nah* MS KS ApŚ *prajāpatī ramayatu prajā iha* KS *ā nah* (AV *vām*) *prajām janayatu prajāpatih* RV AV MS KS ApŚ MŚ AG SMB ApMB

prajāpatih prajayā samrarānah AV VS MS JB ŚŚ MŚ *prajāpatih prajayā* (Ppp Vait Kauś *prajābhih*) *samvidānah* Ppp TS KS PB TB TA MahānU NṛpU Vait ApŚ Kauś

garbham (ŚŚ *garbhān*) *dhattam svastaye* TB ŚŚ

sa nah piteva sūnave (AV KS * *putrebhyah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS (ter) ŚB The contexts are different

putram pautram (ApMB HG *putrān pautrān*) *abhitarpayantīh* AV Kauś ApMB HG

piteva putram (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *iha*) *rakṣatad imam* (VS ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *piteva putram jarase ma emam* (Ppp KS HG ApMB *nayemam*) Ppp MS KS HG ApMB

vīram (VSK *vīrān*) *videya tava devi* (TS KS TA om.) *samdṛśi* VS VSK TS KS ŚB TA

vīram dhatta (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ *viram no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ ApŚ

MŚ *vīrān nah pitaro dhatta* VıDh · *vīrān me pitaro* (also *tatāmahā* and *pratatāmahā*) *datta* Kauś

tatra pañyema pitarau ca putrān (TA *pitaram ca putram*) AV TA

svadhā pitāmahāya (Kauś °*mahebhyah*) AŚ MŚ Kauś In the same texts with the same variation in number *svadhā pitre* (*pitṛbhyah*), and *svadhā prapitāmahaya* (°*mahebhyah*)

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānah (TA † °*maham bibharat pinvamāne*) AV TA

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV AV SMB ApMB MG N

samrājñī svaśure bhava RV ŚG SMB ApMB *samrājñy edhi śvaśureṣu* AV

o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV AV *ā tva sakhāyah sakhya vavṛtyuh* SV

pratīkṣante svasuro devaras ca AV *pratīkṣantam †śvaśruvo devarās ca* ApMB Change of gender also (§782) As to *devaras* (°*rāś*), both are plural, one from stem *devṛ*, one from *devara* (correct Whitney's note)

§703 (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (for the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p 83), 'disease', and the like It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arati* and *rakṣas*

ayam satrūn (KapS *satrum*) *jayatu* VS VSK TS MS KS KapS ŚB TA AŚ Oertel 76

bhiyasam ā dhehi śatruṣu (SV *satrave*) RV SV

tādṛnā (TB Poona ed *tadīkna*) *śatrum* (TB *satrun*) *na kila vivitse* (TB *vivatse*, Poona ed *vavitse*) RV TB

dviṣantas tapyantām bahu MŚ *dviṣan me bahu socatu* TB ApŚ

dviṣatām pātv anhasah RV *duritat pātv anhasah* AV The reported reading of Ppp is *dviṣatas patu tebhyah*

yavaya (v l °*yā*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yāvayasmad dveṣam* (v l °*sah*) KS *yavayāsmad dveṣah* (TA *aghu dveṣāṃsi*) VS TS ŚB TA Kauś

dviṣantam (AV *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV AV TB ApŚ *dviṣaṅś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *dviṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ

mā cāham dviṣate radham AV *ma tv aham dviṣatām radham* MŚ *mo aham dviṣate* (TB ApŚ °*to*) *radham* RV TB ApŚ

avaham bādha upabhṛta sapatnān (KS *dviṣantam*) KS TB ApŚ

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ *yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ

prayutam dveṣaḥ VS *prayutā dveṣāṁsi* MS KS ApŚ MŚ The VS comm 'hostility is removed' This may be the interpretation of the plural also, or both singular and plural may mean 'the enemy (is) are destroyed'

mākīm brahmadviṣo (SB °ṣam) *vanaḥ* RV AV SV

turyāma dasyūn tanūbhiḥ RV *sāhyāma dasyum tanūbhiḥ* SV (Benfey's text has *dasyūm* Is this a misprint for *dasyum*? B translates by a singular)

(*yo naḥ suptān jāgrato vābhidāsād*) *tān pratīco nirdaha jātavedaḥ* AV (*agne yo no antī śapatī yaś ca dūre*) *tam pratyañcam sam daha jātavedaḥ* ApŚ

mā tvā pariparino (TS *pariparī*) *vidan* (TS † *vidat*, KS *tvā pariparino vidan mā paripanthinaḥ*, MS *tvā pariparino mā paripanthinaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

tvam tān agne menyāmenīn kṛnu svāhā AV *tam agne menyāmenim kṛnu* TB *tayāgne tvam menyāmum amenim kṛnu* TB Preceded in all three passages by a relative clause with *yo abhidāsati* (AV *abhidāsāt*) and various methods of attack in the instrumental

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāḥ AV *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV AV N

amī ye vivratā (MS °*tāḥ*, KS °*tās*) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV MS KS *asau yo vimatā janaḥ* RVKh

bhettāram bhañgurāvataḥ (VSK °*tām*) VSK TS *hantāram bhañgurāvatām* (AV °*taḥ*) RV AV VS MS KS The precise nuance of meaning denoted by *bhañgurāvat* is uncertain, 'treacherous' and 'destructive' have been suggested

śaphārujam (AV °*rujo*) *yena paśyasi yātudhānam* (AV °*nān*) RV AV

utārebhānān ṛṣibhir yātudhānān AV *ālebhānād ṛṣibhir yātudhānāt* RV See §495

yātudhānam kimīdinam AV *yātudhānān kimīdinaḥ* AV

amūn kṛtyākṛto jahi AV *ava kṛtyākṛtam jahi* (Ppp *prati kṛtyākṛto daha*) AV Ppp

ni duryona āvṛṇañ mṛdhravācaḥ (and °*vācam*) RV (both)

yavayārātīḥ (MS Kauś °*tim*, MS p p and KS *yāvayārātim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

sahasvārātīḥ (MS KS °*tim*) *sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ* (TS *sahasvārātīyataḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

sugārhapatyo vidahann arātīḥ (AV *vitapann arātim*) AV TB ApŚ
alakṣmīr (RVKh Scheft °*mīn*, i e °*mīm*) *nāśayāmy aham* RVKh TAA Comm on TAA interprets by *alakṣmīm*
samjānānau vijahatām arātīḥ TB ApŚ *āprīnānau vijahatā arātim* MS KS
pratyuṣṭam rakṣaḥ pratyuṣṭā arātayaḥ (MS KS *pratyuṣṭārātiḥ*) VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ Kauś
hanti rakṣo bādhate pary arātīḥ (SB °*tim*) RV SV
nirdagdhā arātayaḥ TS TB ApŚ *nirdagdhārātiḥ* MS KS
parāpūtā (VSK *pratipūtā*) *arātayaḥ* VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ *parāpūtārātiḥ* MS KS
avadhūtā arātayaḥ (MS KS *avadhūtārātiḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ
sahasva no abhimātim AV *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS
ni mitrayur aratīn atārīt MS KS *vi mitra evair arātim atārīt* TS TB Different words
śiśīte śṛṅge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS °*nakṣe*) RV AV TS KS N
idam aham rakṣasām (VSK TS MS KS MŚ °*so*) *grīvā api kṛntāmi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ
sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV *sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han* RV N
tam ito nāśayāmasi RV AV MG *tān ito nāśayāmasi* AV Both *tam* und *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes
apām napāt pratirakṣann asuryam (MS °*kṣad asuryān*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *asuryam* is usually translated 'the demons' power' Is it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS 's variant referring to the individual demons?
apa protha (AV *sedha*) *dundubhe duchunā* (AV *duchunām*, TS *duchunān*, p p °*nān*) *itaḥ* RV AV VS TS MS KSA *duchunā*, 'misfortune', is perhaps personified as a demon
apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam naḥ (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anudattānṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dattāni, ṛnāni*)
enānsi cakṛmā vayam AV VS MS KS TB *enaś cakṛmā vayam* TS KS TB
cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam AB *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS TA
yat kusīdam apratīttam (*apratītam, apradattam*) *mayi* (*mayeha*) TS MS TA MŚ SMB *yāny apāmityāny apratīttāny* (°*tītāny*) *asmi* TB ApŚ *apamityam apratīttam yad asmi* AV
idam aham tam valagam (MS KS *tān valagān*) *ut kirāmi* (VSK TS

MS KS ApŚ *ud vapāmi*) *yam* (*yān*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB ApŚ

atrivad vah krimayo (Ppp *atrivat tvā kṛme*) *hanmi* AV Ppp *atrinā tvā krime hanmi* TA ApŚ *hatas te atrinā krimih* (GG *kṛmih*) SMB GG

tā no amīvām (TB *amīvā*) *apabādhamānau* MS TB

apāmīvām (TB ApŚ *apāmīvā*) *apa rakṣāṅsi sedha* RV MS KS TB ApŚ

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adadhrāh*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS The meaning of the word *snehiti* or *snīhiti* is uncertain, it appears clear, however, that it must be something dreaded

ava devānām yaja hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ

tasmin pāsān pratimuñcāma etān MS KS *yam dvismas tasmin prati muñcāmi pāśam* TS ApŚ

adhih pāśam (MS KS *pāsān*) *pra mumoktv etam* (MS KS *etān*) TS MS KS ApŚ

druhah pāsān (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *sā*) *mucīsta* (AV *prati muñcatām sah*) RV AV TS MS KS

ayasmayam vicrtā (KS *viśrtā*) *bandham etam* VS TS MS KS ŠB *ayasmayān vicrtā bandhapāsān* AV

[*indrānamitram nah paścāt* (VSK °*tram paścān me*) AV VSK KS The sole ms of KS reads °*mitran*, and so Conc , but v Schroeder is obviously right in emending to °*tram*]

§704 (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc

śatam bhavāsy ūtibhih (SV VS * *utaye*) RV AV SV 2 34c VS (bis, add in Conc 27 41c with *utaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ

maghavañ (°*van*) *chagdhi tava tan na ūtibhih* (SV PB TB TA ApŚ *ūtaye*) TV AV SV PB TA MahānU ApŚ

vancmā te abhiṣṭibhih (SV °*taye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ

sadā pāhy abhiṣṭibhih (°*taye*) RV (both)

vyacisṭham annai (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam drsānam* (TS † KS *vidānam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB

annanām (MS *annasya*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

śatam kumbhān asiñcatam surāyāh (and *madhūnām*) RV (both)

isam no mitrāvarunā kartanedām AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedāh* SV

tesām isānī sam isā madanti RV VS TS MS N *sam no mahānī sam iso mahantām* KS

rāyo (AV *rayim*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV AV

rāyo (AV *rayim*) *dānāya codaya* RV SV AV Grassmann considers *rāyó* genitive singular, Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative plural, and the AV reading, tho its verse shows some corruption, bears out his view

te asmā (KS *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 *agnayo*) *dravinam* (KS *°nāni*) *dattvā* MS KS ApŚ

dhattād asmabhyam dravineha (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca*) *bhadram* TS MS ApŚ

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravineha bhakṣīya TS *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya dravinehāgameh* VS *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinehāgamyāt* MS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravinehāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravinehāgameh*) TS KS ApŚ *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* KS (for the reading see VV 1 §104u) The first TS passage has the plural, and MS may possibly have a plural, see §346

ta ā yajanta dravinam (MS KS † *dravinā*) *sam asmai* (MS *asmin*) RV VS TS MS KS

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsma°*, AŚ *dattāyāsma°*, SMB *dattāsma°*) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

aham dadhāmi dravinam (AV *dravinā*) *haviṣmate* RV AV

dhṛṣnave dhīyate dhanā (SV *dhanam*) RV AV SV

yo devakāmo na dhanā (AV * *dhanam*) *runaddhi* RV AV (bis)

maho ye dhanam (MS KS *dhanā*, TS *ratnam*) *samatheṣu jabhrire* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitṛbhya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dakṣapitṛbhya*) *ayuni* (AV *āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

pra rādhasā codayate (SV *rādhānsi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV

somo rādhasām (TS *°sā*) TS MS KS

pūṣā sanīnām (TS ApŚ *sanyā*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ

dyumnam sudatra manhaya SV *dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya* RV

ayam (AŚ * *aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ * *jayāmi*) *vājasātau* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ (bis)

śriyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭim (TAA * *śrīs ca lakṣmīs ca puṣṭīs*) *ca kīrtim cānṛnyatām brahmanyam bahuputratām* TAA (bis) *śrīs ca puṣṭis cānṛnyam brahmanyam bahuputrinam* MahānU

tayaham śāntya sarvaśantya mahyam dvipade catuspade ca śāntim karomi TA *tābhih śāntibhih sarvaśāntibhih samayāmy aham* AV *tvayāham śāntyā sarvaśāntyā mahyam dvipade ca catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi* MS

svāhāgnim na bheṣajam (MS °*jaiḥ*) VS MS TB
svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS °*jaiḥ*) VS MS TB
hiraṇyena varcāṅsi (KSA *varcaḥ*) KS KSA
ataś ca viśvā (MundU † *sarvā*) *oṣadhayo rasāś* (MundU MahānU † *rasaś*, MahānU v l *rasāḥ*) *ca* TAA MahānU MundU
divo dhārā (KS °*rām*) *asaścata* TS MS KS
ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ AV *ānando modaḥ pramodaḥ* TB *modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB
sugebhir (AV *sugena*) *durgam atītām* RV AV SMB ApMB
atho ariṣṭatātaye RV AV PB *atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ* RV AV
marmāṇi te varmaṇā (TS *varmabhiś*) *chādayāmi* RV AV SV VS TS
vibhūm kāmam (VS *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśīya* (VS KS TB *aśnavai*) VS MS KS TB
anv aśvair anu sarvena (TB ApŚ *sarvair u*) *puṣṭaiḥ* VS TB ApŚ In VS *sarvena* is paraphrased by the comm *anyenāpi kāmena* In TB ApŚ we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may agree with *puṣṭaiḥ* (so TB comm and Caland) In the latter case this is an instance of number attraction
pūṣā svāhākāraiḥ (TA *svagākārena*, KS ApŚ *svagākāraiḥ*) MS KS TA ApŚ
ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛṇasva VS TS ŚB *hastau pṛṇasva bahubhir vasavyaiḥ* AV TS MS KS
ūrjam puṣṭam vasv āveśayantī AV *viśvā rūpāṇi vasūny āveśayantī* TS
sam patnī patyā sukṛteṣu (TB ApŚ *sukṛtena*) *gachatām* MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ This and the following variants are not quite at home under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere
tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS KS Cf prec , tho *sukṛt* and *sukṛta* are distinct words, the phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent
tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś *pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Cf prec
chandobhir yajñaiḥ sukṛtām kṛtena AV *brahmanā guptaḥ* (ApMB *sampṛñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* HG ApMB Here *sukṛt* 'righteous man' is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speaking does not belong here, cf the preceding three, and see §580

§705 (7) Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty, fame, ordinance, and the like
pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuḥ*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryeṇa* (AV *vīryāṇi*, TB ApŚ *vīryāya*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU

uta indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akṛnod devatābhiḥ samārabhya MS *uta indro akṛnod vīryāṇi* TS TB *uta indro vīryam akṛnot* VS KS ŚB

haṃsā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB

svāhā somam indriyam (MS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS TB

rudrasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB °*yam*, KS °*ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB In MS probably acc pl, tho in TS abl sg, see §§495, 526

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS °*tyaiḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ Phonetic in character, as are also the following, VV 2 §706

mitrāvarunā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ (AŚ °*tye*) TS KS MS AŚ

sve dakṣe (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

asme rāstrāni dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS KS *asmin rāṣṭram adhiśraya* TS

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV *sa no rāṣtreṣu sudhitām* (read °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB

tad asyāma tava rudra pranītau (RV † KS °*nītiṣu*) RV TS KS

ut parjanasya dhāmabhiḥ (MS *dhāmnā*, TS TA ApMB *śuṣmena*, KS *vṛṣṭyā*, PG *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK TS MS KS TA AŚ PG ApMB

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīḥ AV *katī dhāmāni katī ye vivāsāḥ* MS See §269

etāvān (ArS ChU *tāvān*) *asya mahimā* RV VS TA ArS ChU *tāvanto asya mahimānaḥ* AV

abhi śravobhiḥ pṛthivīm RV *uta śravasā* (MS *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS TS MS TA

vyānaśiḥ (SV °*śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV *dharmanā*) RV SV

dyām (AV *divam*) *ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV *dharmabhiḥ*) RV AV TA

ā jāgṛvir vipra ṛtā (SV *ṛtam*, PB † *kṛtam*, misprint for *ṛtam?*) *matīnām* RV SV PB

ṛtam (RV *ṛtā*) *vadanto anṛtam rapema* RV AV

pitre putrāso apy avīvatann ṛtam (AV *ṛtāni*) RV AV

vratam rakṣanti viśvahā AV *vratā dadante agneḥ* VS TS MS KS *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV

mama vaseṣu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛnomi AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG

kṣatram (TA ApŚ *kṣatrāni*) *dhāraya* VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ

brahma (MS *asme brahmāni*) *dhāraya* VS MS ŚB

naras tokasya tanayasya sātau (and *sātiṣu*) RV (both)

vāmī te samdṛśi viśvam reto MS KS *viśvasya te viśvāvato viśvā retāṃsi* TS

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp TS KS *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV But the interpretation of *svadhā(ḥ)* is doubtful, both as to its meaning and its form, see §474

§706 (8) Words denoting various abstract concepts

aty aṃhūṃ aty arātiṃ agne (MS KS *ati nirṛtiṃ adya*) VS † TS † MS KS *aty aṃhūr ati dviṣaḥ* AV

amīṣāṃ cittam pratilobhayantī (AV *cittāni pratimohayantī*) RV AV SV VS N

mama cittam anu cittebhir eta AV *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG

brāhmanena vācam (KS *vācaḥ*) TS KS KSA

[*vācā mendriyeṇāviśa* (KS *vācāṃ indr°*) TS KS MŚ But see §559]

bṛhaspatir vācāṃ (VS ŚB *°ce*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

śīle ca (v l *śīleṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB (The Conc records the text as reading *śīleṣu*)

bhiyo (AV *bhiyam*) *dadhānā hṛdayeṣu satravaḥ* RV AV

sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti samgiram (AV *°rah*) RV AV SV

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaiṣṭhyānāṃ*, VS ŚB *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām TB *vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām* AV

namas (KS NīlarU *namānsi*) *te āyudhāya* VS MS KS NīlarU MŚ BṛhPDh

deva savitas tvam dīkṣāyā (KS *dīkṣānāṃ*) *dīkṣāpatir asi* MS KS

ud rathānāṃ jayatāṃ yantu ghoṣāḥ (TS *jayatām etu ghoṣaḥ*) RV SV VS TS *ud vīrāṇāṃ jayatāṃ etu ghoṣaḥ* AV

śriyo (AV TB *śriyam*, Ppp *śriyo*) *vasānaś carati svarociḥ* (TB *°cāḥ*) RV AV Ppp VS KS TB

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV AV *ariṣṭaso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV

sam ākūtir (RVKh Scheftelowitz *°tiṃ*, Conc with Aufrecht *°tir*) *namāmasi* (RVKh Scheft *manāmasi*, MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS

samānī va ākūtiḥ RV AV TB AG *samānā vā* (KS *va*) *ākūtāni* MS KS MG

sampaśyan paṅktīr (AV *paṅktim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV AV The meaning of the whole verse is obscure, we suspect meter-names, in which case this would belong in §690 above

akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS *kuyavam* (MS v l *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitiś* (VS *'kṣitam*) *ca me* VS MS KS

§707 (9) Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or psycho-physical entities

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāṭ (TS TB *yonim svāhā*) VS TS ŚB TB *sudhīn yonīn suṣadām pṛthivīm* (MS °vī) KS See §550

sam vah sṛjāmi hṛdayāni (KS °yam, MŚ °yāni *vah*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG

prati prāneṣu (SMB *prāne*) *prati tiṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB *puṣṭau*, MS *tiṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS MS KS ŚB TB SMB HG

prānam (MS *prānān*, p p *prānam*) *na vīryam nasi* VS MS TB

prānā (MahānU *prāno*) *vā āpah* TA MahānU All Jacob's mss but one *prānā(h)*

tvaṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ *rūpena*) *samanaktu yajñaih* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ

tvaṣṭur aham devayajyayā paśūnām rūpam puṣeyam (MŚ *dev° sarvāni rūpāni paśūnām puṣeyam*) TS MŚ

nakṣatrāni rūpena (TS KSA *pratirūpena*, MS *rūpaih*) VS TS MS KSA

mānsāya (VS *mānsebhyah*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

na mānseṣu na snāvasu ApMB *neva mānse na pītbasi* AV *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG The reading of PG is clearly a corruption of AV, see §611

śam te parebhyo gātrebhyah, śam astv avarebhyah VS TS KSA *śam me* (Ppp *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, śam astv avarāya me* (Ppp *parāya te*) AV Ppp

niśīrya (MS *praśīrya*) *salyānām mukhā* (MS KS † *mukham*) VS TS MS KS NilarU *mukha* is used figuratively 'the point(s) of the arrows'

śiprāh śīrṣan hiranyayīh RV *śiprāh śīrśasu vitatā hiranyayīh* RV See *RVRep* on 5 54 11

valmīkān klomnā (VS *klomabhih*) VS TS MS KSA

marīcīr viprudbhih (MS °*pruṣā*) VS MS

§708 Also the word *tanū*

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS ŚB *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °*pāya*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS

tena cinvānas tanvo (TS *tanuvo*, MS *tanvam*) *ni ṣīda* VS TS MS KS ŚB

tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (ApŚ *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV VS

yat kim ca (KS *cit*) *tanvo* (TS *tanuvām*) *rapah* RV VS TS MS KS *ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons, hence the secondary plural in TS instead of the generalizing sing

§709 (10) Seasonal and meteorological

aha (AV * *ahar*) *mimāno aktubhih* TV AV (bis) ArS N

sūro ahnām pratarīta uṣasām divah AV *somo ahnah* (SV *ahnām*) *pratarītoṣaso* (SV °*sām*) *divah* RV SV

sajūr abdo (MS * *abdā*) *ayavobhih* (TS ApŚ *'yāvabhih*, MS * MŚ *āyavabhih*, MS * KS *āyavobhih*) VS TS MS * KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ — MS 3 4 4 reads *abdo āyavobhir*, error or misprint for *abdā āya°* or *abdo aya°*

samvatsarena savita no ahnām (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ Case- and number-attraction, see §585 Similar are the two following

trivṛn no viṣṭhayā (KS *trivṛd viṣṭhaya*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahna*) TS MS KS AŚ

mitrāvarunā saradahnām (MS °*hna*) *cikitnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikitvam*) TS MS KS AŚ

śaradbhyah (ŚG *sarade*) *svāha* TS KSA ŚG

ṛtuś ca me vratam ca me TS *vratam ca ma ṛtavaś ca me* VS

samā (VS KS *samāś*) *ca mā* (VS KS *ma*) *indras ca me* VS MS KS

samā (VS TS *samaś*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS KS has v l *samās*

uṣasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat TB ApŚ (TB Poona ed reads as ApŚ, so read) *uṣām-uṣām śreyasim dhehy asmai* AV

hiranyavarnam (RV *hiranyarūpam*) *usaso vyuṣtau* RV MS KS MŚ *hiranyarupā uṣaṣo viroke* VS ŚB *hiranyavarnav uṣasām viroke* TS TB

rathā asvāsa uṣaso vyuṣtau (and *vyuṣṭiṣu*) RV (both) 'At the first light(s) of dawn'

jyotisam na prakuśate RVKh *na jyotiṣi cakasati* Suparn

vāta (MS *vātah*, KS *vātas*) *sprtah* VS MS KS ŚB *vātā sprtāh* TS

māsaś (TS *māsām*) *caturthah* TS KSA Gens

mitham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV *mahī no vata iha vāntu bhūmau* AV

abhīpato vṛṣṭyā (RV *vṛṣṭibhis*) *tarpayantam* RV AV TS KS

dūṣikābhir hrādunim (KSA † *hrad°*) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣikābhih* VS MS 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes'

aśrubhih prṣvām (KSA *pruṣvām*) TS KSA *pruṣvā asrubhih* VS MS 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears'

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *slokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)

sūreh (AV MS † *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU In KS, 'as the sun on its path', TS ŚvetU have 'successive suns', i e the sun day by day

sa śukrebhih śikvabhī (TS *śukrena śikvanā*) *revad asme* (TS MS *agnih*) RV TS MS

§710 (11) Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual

vi te muñcāmi raśanām AV *vi te muñcāmi rasanām* (TS °*nā*) *vi raśmīn* TS MS KS MŚ MG

ā raśmīn (RV *raśmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB

rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (KS TB *akṣeṣu vṛṣ*°) *vaje* AV KS TB *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājah* ViDh

āntrāni sthalīr (KS TB *sthālī*) *madhu pinvamānāh* (KS TB *pinvamāna*) VS MS KS TB

jāmi bruvata āyudham (SV °*dhā*) RV AV SV The reference is to Indra's weapons

yah puruṣe yo aśmani MS KS ApŚ *ye puruṣe ye asmasu* AV (Ppp as the others)

ā tvā parisritah (MG *parisṛtah*, PG ApMB *parisrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*bhāh*) AG PG MG ApMB Cf *pūrnan parisrutah kumbhan* ŚB, in an entirely different context

§711 (12) In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plurale tantum E g *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural So also *gṛha* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard' In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on *a priori* grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plurale tantum rather than vice versa The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here, e g those involving *lokāh*, *rakṣānsi*, etc See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class

anāgā devāh śakuno gṛheṣu (AV *gṛham nah*) RV AV Ppp MG

indrasya gṛho 'si AV TB TA *indrasya gṛhā vasumanto* ApMB PG *indrasya gṛhāḥ śivā* ŚG

mā te gṛhe (SMB *gṛheṣu*) *niṣi ghoṣa utthāt* SMB ApMB HG

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhiḥ*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV *ūrdhvadhā bhuvat*) RV SV

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV • *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* RV SV (bis)

avyo vāre (SV *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyam* RV SV

vārān (SV *vāram*) *yat pūto atyeṣy avyān* (SV *avyam*) RV SV

aṣṭam (SV *aṣṭā*) *rājeva satpatiḥ* RV SV The plural of *aṣṭa* is unusual if not isolated, it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *gṛha* in the plural

apo (*udno*) *dattodadhim bhinta* (*dehy udadhim bhindhi*), see §502 Here TS KS have the sing stem *udan*, the others the plurale tantum *ap* (acc pl)

§712. (13) Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly expressed in the context Psychologically they belong with the preceding sections dealing with nouns Thus in the first variant *soma*, singular or plural, is referred to (cf §693) Since the ṛca containing the plural passage is surrounded by ṛcas with singular, it is possible that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number (cf *RVRep* on 9 36 4, and *te[sa] viśvā* etc , §693), yet the mere change in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same sort adduced here, not enough to prove it

śumbhamānā (RV • °*na*) *ṛtāyubhiḥ* RV (both) SV *mṛjyamānā* (and °*no*) *gabhastayoḥ* RV SV (both in each)

§713 So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the sacrificial fire or fires, the sing to the āhavanīya alone, the plural perhaps to the three sacred fires (but cf our remarks §686)

ned eṣa yuṣmad (TS TB *tvad*) *apacetayātai* TS MS TB MŚ *eṣa net tvad apacetayātai* VS KS ŚB But MS MŚ use singular pronouns, with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza

§714 Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of entities

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtīḥ* (TS *samk*°, MS *samkṛtiḥ*, KS *niṣkṛtiḥ*) RV VS TS MS KS Addressed to plants, or a plant, plurals occur in the rest of the stanza

asmadrātā (TS *asmaddātrā*, MS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr*, KS *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*, TS adds *madhumatīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg or pl (cf §696), see VV 1 p 256

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā, yasmai cāham khanāmi vah* (Kauś *ca tvā khanāmasi*) RV VS TS Kauś *yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham* VS To plant(s)

jyotiṣā tvā (TB * ApŚ *vo*) *vaiśvānarenopatiṣthe* TB (both) AŚ ApŚ To the fire

tam vo (MS *te*) *gṛhnāmy* (MS *gṛbhnāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA To one or perhaps all five of the cups (graha)

devatābhyas tvā devavītaye gṛhnāmi KS *devavītaye* (MS °*vītyai*) *tvā* (KS *vo*) *gṛhnāmi* TS VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ To the oblation

adityās tvopasthe sādayāmi TS MS TB ApŚ MŚ *adityā va upasthe sādayāmi* MS MŚ To the oblation

ācchettā te (TB ApŚ * *vo*) *mā riṣam* (*riṣat, mārṣam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ (both) MŚ

§715 Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker is thinking of the individuals which compose it, cf §836 Thus

yuvam tān (SV *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV SV Reference is to *senā* 'army', but AV thinks of the individual men who make it up To be sure the AV comm reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend to this, but it seems to us unnecessary

§716 The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity Thus

samudrasya vo 'kṣityā (VS ŚB *tvākṣityā*) *un naye* (VS ŚB *nayāmi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In the same ritual context, referring to water (*āpaḥ*), hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj school uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing

§717 So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*, may be used in either number without essential difference (cf also the indefinite neuter, §727)

anyāns (TS AŚ *anyam*) *te asmat tapantu hetayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ

anyam asman (MS *anyāns te asman*, KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh* VS TS MS KS If *anye* is sound, it can be nothing but a Prakritic acc pl, cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr* 425, 433 (and for nouns, 367a)

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tān*

mṛṣmṛṣā (KS TA *maṣmaṣā*) *kuru* MS † KS TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV

yat tvā kruddhāh pracakruh AV *yat tvā* (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (KS ms °*vāpa*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ 'If angry ones have thrown thee out' 'if I in anger have (KS ms if an angry one has) thrown thee out' The other texts state bluntly what AV puts diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit in words the sin which it really implies It is the speaker, nevertheless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV Cf VV 1 §315

§718 Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the person or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being performed

pātaınam prāñcam VS ŚB *pāta prāñcam* (KS *prāñcah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ

pāta mā tiryañcam TS TB *pātaınam tiryañcam* VS ŚB *pāta tiryañcam* (KS *tiraścah*) MS KS

pāta (*pāta mā*, *pātaınam*) *pratyañcam* (KS *pratīcah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

pātānvañcam (KS °*nūcah*) MS KS *anvañcam mā pāta* TS TB

utālabdham (AV *utārabdhān*) *sprnuhi jātavedah* RV AV

yasyāham asmi purohitah VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *yeṣām asmi purohitah* AV

piteva putram (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *piteva putram jarase ma emam* (Ppp KS HG ApMB *nayemam*) Ppp MS KS HG ApMB

§719 (14) This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural, referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and their associates In VV 1 §290 we have discussed this type of number variant in the verb In so far as nominative pronouns in varying numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1, but for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be considered together As we saw 1 c, different persons may be used, as well as different numbers Hence we find, here also, cases in which pronouns of different person as well as number are used We quote a few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf §9)

§720 First and second persons

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu (Ppp *pipartu*) AV Ppp *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitām* (read °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB

ā tvā (TB *na*) *svo viśatām* (TB *aśnutām*) *varnah* AV TB

§721 First and third persons Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704 The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading See also §738 for some formally similar cases

asmai (TB *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam* AV † TB

asme (AV *asmai*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

asme (AV *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °*tām*) *rayim* RV AV MŚ Different contexts

asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV KBU AG PG N

asmai (MS *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS MS AŚ

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmai*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS

savitrā prasavitrā indrenāsme (VSK °*smai*) VS VSK

asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhisraya*) MS KS *asme kṣatrāni dhārayer anu dyūn* RV TS MS KS *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV Different contexts

asme (AŚ *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatī* RV TS MS KS AŚ Doubtless misprint in AŚ

yachā nah śarma saprathah (°*thāh*) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N *yachāsmai sarma saprathāh* AV TS

ud enam uttaram (°*rām*, §814) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś *ud asmāṅ uttarān naya* ApŚ In same verse

prajayā ca bahum (ApŚ *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV VS MS KS ApŚ

First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722 The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates Little need be said of them, they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff , which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive

§723 As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary We shall list these inconsistent variants first

yā sarasvatī veśabhagīnī tasyā no (ApŚ *viśobhagīnā tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāmo bhūyāsma* KS ApŚ Note 1st plural verb

mayīdam indra indriyam dadhātu VS ŚB ŚŚ *asmāsv indra indriyam dadhātu* TS MS KS MŚ *mayīndra indriyam dadhātu* TS TA TAA AG The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS ŚB ŚŚ

bhavatam nah samanasau VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś BDh *avatam mā samanasau samaukasau* TB Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB

sūryo mā (MS *nas*) *tebhyo rakṣatu* TS MS KS Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo* (Delete reference to KS under *agnir nas* in Conc) The following pāda has 1st plural in all

devi vāy yat te vāco (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhumattamam*, °*tamam juṣṭatamam*) *tasmin mā* (KB ŚŚ *no adya*) *dhāh* (*dhāt*) TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ A 1st sg verb precedes in all

vājo no (MS KS *me*) *adya prasuvāti dānam* VS MS KS 1st sg pronoun in the same verse in VS

vihi havyam prayatam āhutam me (ŚŚ *nah*) AŚ ŚŚ Both have plural elsewhere in the verse

śṛnotu mitro aryamā bhago nah (KS *me*) RV VS KS N 1st sing verb in the verse even in RV

śraddhe śrad dhāpayeha nah (TB *mā*) RV TB 1st plural verb in both, here TB is secondarily inconsistent

citasya (TB SMB *yajñasya*) *mātā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhavā no* (TB SMB *me*) *astu* AV TB The AV has *me* in the next pāda

vaiśvānarah pavayān nah pavitrair TA *vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu* AV The rest of the verse has 1 sg in both Ppp intends to read with TA (Whitney on AV 6 119 3)

ā mā ghoṣo yachatu vāñ nasāni (TS KS *vān nu asāni*, MS *var nv āsam*, pp *vāk, nu, āsām*) AV TS MS KS Note that TS KS are inconsistent within the same pāda!

tvaṣṭā me (SV *no*) *daivyam vacah* AV SV Kaus Plural follows in both

ayam te asmy upa mehy (AV *na ehy*) *arvāñ* RV AV Ppp In the same verse

manyo vajrinn abhi nām (AV *abhi na*, Ppp *upa na*) *ā vavṛtsva*, same texts The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing with *manyu*!), RV is the only really consistent text

mām dhehi TS TB TA *asmān dhehi* KSA The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *māṃ*, because the next mantra has *mayi* In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable

ā no (VS *mā*) *jane śravayatam yuvānā* RV VS TS MS KS TB Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular

paramāu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitu (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ SMB The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural

pātam no (ApŚ *mā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe* RV MS KS ApŚ Preceded by a plural in all

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV *baladāvā na ehi*) RV AV Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV

viśve devāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS And others, §154 RV is inconsistent, having sing pronouns in the rest of the vs , all later texts restore consistency

dyauś ca nah (KS TB *tvā*, AV *ma idam*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* (AV °*sau*) RV AV KS TB See §488 Plur pronoun follows in AV

rāyo (AV *rayim*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV AV Plural precedes in AV

idam aham tam valagam (*tān valagān*) *yam* (*yān*) *me* (VSK TS KS *nah*) VS VSK TS MS KS SB Note *aham* in all

marutāṃ manve adhi no (AV *me*) *bruvantu* AV TS MS KS A plural follows in AV

ādityā rudrā uparispṛśo nah (KS °*śam mā*) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparispṛśam ma* RV VS TS Plurals in the context, only the secondary AV is consistent

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG All have singulars in the rest of the verse

amitran no vi vidhyatām AV *mamāmitrān vi vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV (both) In different contexts, the sings are inconsistent with their surroundings

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŠG *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś

§724 The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context The long list follows

agne dakṣaih punīhi nah (TB *mā*) RV TB

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me VS *adhvanām adhvapate* (ŚŚ *adhvano adhipatir asi*) *svasti me* (ŚŚ *no*) PB ŚŚ

pāvamānīh (°*nyah*) *punantu nah* (RVKh TB *mā*, MG *tvā*, YDh *te*) SV RVKh TB MG YDh

upa mā (ŚB ŚŚ *mām*) *bṛhat saha divā hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ (also with *rathamtaram saha pṛthivyā*, and *vāmadevyam sahāntarikṣeṇa*) *upāsmān idā hvayatām* AŚ

pari nah (and *mā*) *pāhi viśvatah* AV (both) Different contexts

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya dravinehāgameh VS *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinehāgamyāt* MS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya* TS KS ApŚ *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* (cf VV 1 §104u) KS

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kadā cid abhidāsati druhā* (AV *druhuh*) RV AV

devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save* VS VSK ŚB

mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhīh RV *mā me hārdi tviṣā* (MŚ *hārdim dviṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ

varnam pavitram (MG *purānam*) *punatī ma* (ŚG *na*) *āgāt* ŚG SMB PG MG *śarma varūtham* (HG *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB HG

āyantu nah pitarah somyāsah VS *ā me yantu* VitDh (pratika of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS)

śivah sagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ *śivā ca me śagmā cavidhi* TB ApŚ

yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS † *nah*) *pitābhūt* (VSK *pitāsa*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB

asme te rāyah MS KS *asme rāyah* VSK TS ApŚ *me rāyah* VS KS ŚB KŚ On *mé* (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p. 462

imam stomam juṣasva nah (and *me*) RV (both)

imam (HG *etam*) *yajñam pitaro me* (HG *no*) *juṣantām* AV HG

imam no (MS KS *me*) *deva savitah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

imān me (ApŚ *no*) *mitrāvarunau* (ApŚ °*nā*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG

ud uttamam mumugdhi nah (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ

ihāsmāsu (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB * *iha mahyam*) *ni yachatam* RVKh AV MS KS TB (bis)

ṛtena nah (ApŚ *mā*) *pāhi* MS ApŚ

upa mā (Vait *no*) *rājan sukṛte hvayasva* TB Vait

ūrdhvo nah pāhy anhaso ni ketunā RV MS KS AB KB TB *ūrdhvo mā pāhy anhasah* VS ŚB

ṛtāvarī yajñiye mā (AV *nah*) *punītāni* AV MS TB

evā me astu dhānyam Ppp TAA *evāsmākedam dhanyam* AV

ghṛtena no (MS KS *mā*) *ghṛtapvah* (TS °*puvah*) *punantu* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

cakṣur no (KS *me*) *dhehi cakṣuṣe* RV MS KS MG

tato no (KS *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS † KS * °*āva*) VS TS MS KS (both) ApŚ MŚ

tan ma (TA *na*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatiḥ* TA MahānU BDh
tan ma ācakṣva (ŚŚ *nah prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB ŚŚ
dyaur me (AV *nah*) *pitā janitā nabhir atra* RV AV N
nadasya nāde pari pātu me (AV *no*) *manah* RV AV
ye māmakāḥ pitarah ViDh *ye 'smākam pitarah teṣām barhir asi* AV
idam brahma juṣasva nah (TAA MG and TA v l *me*) TA TAA MG MahānU
pūṣā bhagam (AŚ *bhagam pūṣa*) *savitā me* (TB AŚ *no*) *dadātu* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ PG
prajām me dāḥ VS TS MS ŚB TA *prajām me yacha* KS ApŚ MŚ *prajām asmāsu dhehi* VS
varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* VS TS PB ŚB TB ApŚ *varco me dāḥ* MS MŚ *varco me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *varco me dhehi* (TA *dhāḥ*) VSK MS KS JB TA ApŚ *varco me yacha* MS KS ApŚ MŚ
prajāṃ me narya pāhi MS KS ApŚ MŚ MG *prajām no narya pāhi* ApŚ
prajam me naryājugupah (ApŚ MŚ v l °*jūgupah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ *prajam no naryājūgupah* ApŚ
pasūn me ṣansya pahi MS ApŚ MŚ *paśun nah sansya pahi* ApŚ
paśun me sansyājugupah (ApŚ °*jūgupah*) MS ApŚ MŚ *pasūn nah ṣansyajūgupah* ApŚ
annam me (ApŚ * *no*) *budhya* (ApŚ *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ * *no*) *gopāyasmākam punar āgamāt* MS ApŚ (bis)
annam me (ApŚ * *no*) *budhyajugupas* (ApŚ *budhnya*°) *tan me* (ApŚ * *nah*) *punar dehi* MS ApŚ (bis)
tam me (ApŚ * *no*) *gopayāsmakam punar agamāt* MS ApŚ (bis) MŚ Also with *tan* for *tām*, but not in MŚ
tam me (ApŚ * *nah*) *punar dehi* KS MS ApŚ (bis) MŚ Also with *tān* for *tam*, but not in KS or MŚ
brahma tena punihi nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punīmahe*) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ
na para seci no dhanam (ApŚ *nah svam*, ApMB *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ ŚG ApMB
mā vayam āyuṣā varcasā ca MS *māham āyuṣā* (KS adds *varcasā virādhiṣi*) TS KS
yah potā sa punatu nah (VS MS KS ApŚ *mā*) RV VS MS KS ApŚ *yah pūtah sa punatu mā* TB (so Conc , but Poona ed reads *potā*)
yena tvam deva (ŚŚ om *deva*) *veda devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam* (ŚŚ *tenasmabhyam*) *vedo bhuyah* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ

yo nah kaś cābhyaghāyatı AV *yo mā kaś cābhıdāsatı* AG PG MG

yo no antı śapatı tam etena jeṣam MŚ *yo me 'ntı dūre 'rātīyatı tam etena jeṣam* TS

yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā TB *yo 'smāṅś cakṣuṣā manasā cıtyākūtyā ca* AV

yo 'smān dveṣṭı yam ca vayam dvıṣma ıdam asya grīvā apı kṛntāmı TS *ıdam aham yo me* (KS *nas*) *samāno yo samāno 'rātīyatı tasya grīvā apı kṛntāmı* MS KS *ıdam enam adharam karomı yo nah samāno yo 'samāno 'rātīyatı* TS

tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat AV *tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato* (ApŚ *tan no vıśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ

vıśve no (KS *mā*) *devā avasā gamantu* (RV * VS * MS KS ApŚ *gamann ıha*) RV (both) VS (both) TS MS KS ApŚ

vaiśvānaro adabdhas (AV *no adabdhas*, TA *me 'dabdhas*, MS ApŚ *'dabdhas*) *tanūpāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The preceding pādas, which show much variation in their enumeration of protectors, show the following number variants

punah prānah punar ātmā ma (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam*, TA *punar ākūtam ma*) *āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan*) VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA ApŚ HG *punah prānah punar ātmā na aıtu* (MG *punar ākūtır aıtu*) AV MG And the following

punar manah punar āyur (SMB *ātmā*) *mā* (MS *nā*, ApŚ om the word) *āyāt* (VS ŚB *āgan*) VS VSK MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural

śāntır no astu MS *śāntır me astu śāntıh* TA *sā mā sāntır edhı* VS

śivā tvam mahyam edhı HG *śivā na ıhavdhı* AV

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat VıDh MDh BṛhPDh AuśDh *śraddhā me mā vyāgāt* ApŚ

sarvam sviṣṭam suhutam karotu (AG HG † *karotu me*) ApŚ AG ApG HG *sviṣṭam suhutam karotu svāhā* (BṛhUK † *karotu nah svāhā*) ŚB BṛhU BṛhUK

sarvān mac chapathān adhı AV *asmat su sapathān adhı* ApŚ

sarve kāmā abhı yantu mā (HG *nah*) *priyāh* ApMB HG Followed by *abhı rakṣantu mā* (HG *sravantu nah*) *priyāh* ApMB HG

sahasva no abhımātım AV *sahasva me arātīh* VS

sā nas samantam anu parīhı bhadrayā ApMB *sā mā* (MG *nah*) *samantam abhı pary ehı bhadre* MG SMB

sā nah (KS *mā*) *suprācī supratīcy edhı* (VSK MS KS *supratīcī bhava*, TS *supratīcī sam bhava*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

surāṣṭrā ıha māvata (MS *no 'vata*) TS MS KS

suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣena MS *suhavā mehi saha prajayā saha rāyaspoṣena* KS

sa mām pātu KS *so 'smān pātu* TS

deva varuna devayajanam no dehi svāhā (ApŚ °*yajanam me dehi*) PB ApŚ Cf *deva savitar devayajanam me dehi devayajyāyai* AB

agnir mā tasmād enasah AV VS TS MS KS TB TA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś SMB *agnir nas tasmād enasah* MS KS MŚ

evāsmān (KS *evā mām*, AV *tenāsmān*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatih* AV MS KS *tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih* TS ŚŚ

mā mā (SMB *no*) *hiṃsiṣta* VS PB AŚ ŚŚ SMB Vait

mā no (VS VSK ŚB *mā*) *hiṃsīj janitā yah pṛthivyāh* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

nā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ °*āmi*) AV † KS MŚ *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ *mā no hiṃsīd dhiṃsito dadhāmi* (some mss om *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ

yajatrā muñcateha nah (TB *mā*) AV TB

yad bhadram tan na (TB TA ApŚ *ma*) *ā suva* RV VS TB TA ApŚ Kauś MahānU

yo no (AV *mā*) *divā dipsati yaś ca naktam* RV AV

vājo nah (MS *me*, KS *mā*) *sapta pradiśah* VS TS MS KS In the same verse

vājo no (MS KS *mā*) *viśvair devair* VS TS MS KS

vaiśvānaro raśmibhir mā (AV *nah*) *punātu* AV MS TB

śam ca no mayaś ca nah AV Kauś *śam ca me mayaś ca me* VS TS MS KS

ubhe ca no (ŚB *cainam*, ŚŚ *cainam* [*na iti vā*]) *dyāvāpṛthivī anhasah pātām* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ŚB also has the reading *ubhe ca mā* etc , which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas the yajamāna should be indicated The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing However, MS , TB , AŚ , a school contested by ŚŚ , and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB read *no*, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction

rtān mā muñcatānhasah TB *kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS TA

oṣadhībhyah paśave no (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS MŚ ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

kalpatām me yogakṣemah AB *yogakṣemo nah kalpatām* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB

gṛhān nah pitaro datta VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ SMB GG *vīram me* (MŚ *no*) *datta pitarah* AŚ MŚ *vīrān nah* (Kauś *me*) *pitaro dhatta* (Kauś *datta*) Kauś VtDh

goposam ca me (MŚ AŚ *goposam ca no*, TB † ApŚ *goposam no*) *vīrapo-sam ca yacha* (AV MŚ *dhehi*) AV TB 3 7 2 7 AŚ ApŚ MŚ

tāsām te sarvāsām vayam (and °*sām aham*) AV (both)

tasya bhājayateha nah RV AV SV VS TS MS KS TA ApMB *tasyāgne bhājayeha mā* TB

tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānas ca ApMB *vardhiṣīmahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣīmahi* (MS MŚ ApŚ † *pyāyiṣīmahi ca*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG

tan no (MahānU *me*) *varuno rājā* TA MahānU

tan me (VS *no*) *astu tryāyuṣam* VS VSK ApMB HG MG

tan (GB *etan*) *no gopāya* MS KS GB ApŚ *tan me gopāya* (Kauś *gopāyasva*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś

tarpayata me (ŚŚ *nah*) *pitīn* VS ŚŚ ApŚ SMB BDh

tasya no (TS *me*) *rāsva* TS MS KS ApŚ

tasmai no (AV *mā*) *devāh paridatteha* (KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ † *mśve*) AV TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh

tābhir no (MS *tebhir mā*) *devah savitā punātu* MS ApŚ *tābhiṣ tvā devah savitā punātu* ApMB

agnir nah (VSK *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS VSK ŚB

agnir nas (TA *mā*) *tasmād indraś ca* MS TA

agne jātān pra nudā nah (AV *me*) *sapatnān* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi no nivartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

adhā cid indra me (SV *nah*) *sacā* RV AV SV

anamitram no adharāt (VSK † *me adharāk*, KS *no adharāk*) AV VSK KS In the same verse

indrānamitram (KS MS °*trān*, sec §703 end) *nah pascāt* (VSK °*tram pascān me*) AV VSK KS

abhayam mitrāvarunāv ihāstu nah (AG °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV AG

abhi prehi dakṣinato bhavā me (AV *nah*) RV AV

abhiṣṭir (HG *abhiṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no gṛhe*) RVKh HG *abhisrīr yā ca no gṛhe* ApMB

arvācīnam vasuvidam bhagam nah (AV *me*) RV AV Ppp VS TB ApMB

mām (AV *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *viśvatah* (AV *cakṣase*) RV AV VS MS KS

ahar no atyapīparat SMB MahānU *ahar māty apīparah* AV
ādityās tasmān no (TB *mā*) *yūyam* AV TB
ā no (VS ŚB *mā*) *goṣu viśatv auṣadhīṣu* (MS *oṣadhīṣu*, VS KS ŚB *a tanūṣu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
āśīr na (TS KS KŚ *ma*, MS *nā*) *ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam* (TS MS KS KŚ *supra°*) AV TS MS KS KŚ
abhayam vo (ŚŚ * *te*) *'bhayam no astu* (AB AŚ *me 'stu*) AB AŚ ŚŚ (both) *abhayam no astu* MS KS ŚŚ ŚG *abhayam me astu* (AB † *'stu*) AB ApŚ
āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah sundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŚ *sundhantu*) RV AV VS TS KS MS ŚB AŚ ApŚ
āganta pitarah pitṛmān aham yuṣmābhir bhūyāsam suprajaso mayā yūyam bhūyāsta TS *āganta pitarah somyāsas teṣām vah prativittā ariṣṭāh syāma supitaro vayam yuṣmābhir bhūyāsma suprajaso yūyam asmābhir bhūyāsta* MŚ
pūṣā nā ādhāt sukṛtasya loke MS *pūṣā mādhāt* (AV *mā dhāt*) *sukṛtasya loke* AV TS KS
bandhur me (AV *no*) *mātā pṛthivī mahīyam* RV AV N
bodhā me (TS *no*) *asya vacaso yaviṣṭha* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK *deveṣu mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB with ūha, *vocch* for *brūtāt*) VS ŚB *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS
pra mā (TS ApŚ *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °*dhān*, ApŚ °*dhām*, KS *dhavirdā*) *devatāsu* (KS °*tābhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

§726 Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between singular and plural

edhamānah (Kauś °*nāh*) *svagṛhe* (Kauś *sve gṛhe*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś *edhamāna sve vase* ApMB
jīvā (TB ApŚ *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vah sadema* (TB ApŚ *sadeyam*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ
devā dhanena dhanam ichamānāh HG *dhanena devā dhanam ichamānah* AV ApMB The verbs *carāma*, °*mi* occur in the preceding
āyuṣmān jaradaṣṭir yathāsāni AV *āyuṣmanto jarām upagarhema devāh* (KS *jīvāh*) KS ApŚ
gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS *gātrabhāg bhūyāsam*) TS KS
tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭṛi°*, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣṭṛimatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭṛī°*, and so TA Poona ed with v l *tvaṣṭrī°*) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ Cf §849
ihaiva santah prati tad yātayāmah (AV *prati dadma enat*) AV TB ApŚ

thaiva san niravadaye tat TS On this variant see Whitney's notes to AV 6 117 1 and 2

§726 And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context

yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu RV AV VS TS KS ŞB ŚB TB TAA SMB ApMB N *yatkāma idam juhomi tan me samṛdhyatām* TB The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural

yac cāham eno vidvāṅś cakāra yac cāvidvāns VS ŠŠ *yac cāham eno vidvāṅsaś cāvidvāṅsas cainaś cakṛma* MahānU The comm to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying *akārṣam* with *aham*

2 The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf §807) a tinge of generalization, and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders (On neuter adverbs see §734)

kṛṣṭapacyāś (TS KS °*yam*) *ca me 'kṛṣṭapacyāś* (TS KS °*yam*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me* '(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation' 'that which ripens' etc

ekaśapham aśṛyata MS *ekaśaphāh paśavo 'sṛjyanta* VS TS KS ŠB In MS ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel formula, *kṣudrāh paśavo 'sṛjyanta*

āsyaṃ brāhmanāh snapanīr (ApMB °*nam*) *haranta* AV ApMB 'Let the brahmans bring her bathing-water' With *snapanīr* sc *āpah* Cf next

āpah pādyāh ApŚ *pādyam* (Kauś —not HG —*pādyam bhoh*) Kauś HG '(Water) for the feet' Cf prec

hotṛṣadanam haritam hiranyayam AV *hotṛṣadanā haritah suvarnāh* TB ApŚ With the latter supply *darbhāh* '(grass) for the hotar to sit on, yellow, golden' AV feels *hotṛṣadanam*, which means the same thing, as a neuter abstract 'a seat for the hotar' etc Cf *darbhaih stṛnīta haritaih suparnaih* (KS † *suvarnaih*) KS MŚ

samṛddhikaranam tava (HG °*karanān mama*) PG HG Preceded by *imāṃl lājān ā vapāmy agnau* (HG *vapāmi*, om *agnau*), followed by *tubhyam* (PG *mama tubhyam ca*) *samvananam* 'I cast these kernels as increase-makers (a making of increase) a harmonizing'

trmpantu hotrā madhvo yāh sviṣṭāh (VSK *yat sviṣṭam*) VS VSK ŠB Followed by

yāḥ suprītāḥ suhutā yat svāhā VS ŚB *yat subhṛtam yat svāhā* VSK In VS ŚB 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc In VSK *yat* etc might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc But the change was surely suggested by *suhutā yat svāhā* of VS , in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*' Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK and the neuters are indefinite 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc

duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāḥ RV AV *turaś cid viśvam ṭarnavat tapasvān* AV The AV is corrupt, but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter

prajā vikṛṇvan (ApŚ *vikurvan*, MS *prajāḥ kṛṇvan*) *janayan virūpāḥ* (KS °*pam*) MS KS ApŚ *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS (probably original), in the others *prajāḥ* is understood with it

taj (RV *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The RV *tā* refers back to *dārūṇi*, the other texts substitute the indefinite sing *tad*, with the same reference, possibly, but see §737 In different context, *tam ju*° *ya*° RV

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS The pāda originally (in RV AV) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn, the fem adjectives apply to Yamī The YV texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848) Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV text use the indefinite neuter singular 'that what is manifold may become of one sort' (In VS ŚB only this can be intended, as *viṣurūpam* shows, *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459–60, the comm interprets as neuter) In TS the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc pl 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort '

§728 So the indefinite *sarvam* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)', but the variant *sarvāñ*, nom sg , 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either

amāsi (SMB *amā hy asi*, ŚG *amo si*) *sarvāñ* (AŚ *sarvān*, SMB *sarvam*) *asi* (SMB *anu*) *praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ ŚG SMB Kauś

§729 Also *tad* and *tāni*, neuter sg and pl , both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yasmāj jātam* [*jātā*] etc , §810)

yas tad veda (AV * VS *tāṃs veda*, RV AV * TA * N *tā vijānāt*) *sa pituṣ* (VS MahānU *pituḥ*, TA *savituḥ*) *pitaṣat* RV AV (bis) VS TA (bis) MahānU N

§730 In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc), cf §§776, 812 So

tad (VS *tā*) *apaḥ sa* (VSK *tat*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS VSK TA MahānU Note that TA MahānU are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other VS and VSK are (in different ways) consistent

3 Plural of *viśva* with singular noun (?)

§731 Twice the text of TS presents the form *viśve*, apparently nom pl , where other texts have *viśvo* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS) with a singular (*martaḥ*), both are parts of the same stanza The TS version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *viśve* 'senseless' Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait reading moreover ApŚ has the same Either it is a Māgadhism, intended as nom sg (cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS may have so intended, it would be an illogical blend of *viśvo martaḥ* 'every man' with *viśve martaḥ* 'all men' —The same *viśve* apparently with a sing noun occurs a third time in TS , *atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhaḥ*, §457, q v

viśvo (TS ApŚ *viśve*) *devasya netuḥ* RV VS TS MS KS AB KB ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ MG (delete KSA in Conc)

viśvo (TS *viśve*) *raya ijudhyati* (TS °*ti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

Other shifts of sing and pl with no essential change of meaning

§732 With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning

4 Elliptic plural

§733 First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group

mitrah (SV *mitrāḥ*) *pānty adruhah* RV SV Preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*, in SV *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *mitrās*, which means Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman, cf §§746–7

5 Adverbs

§734 Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary, or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp TS KS *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV

trīṇi padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial

agnaye vo juṣṭān prokṣāmy amuṣmai vo juṣṭān MS MŚ *agnaye vo juṣṭam prokṣāmi* TS TB ApŚ *juṣṭān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food, *juṣṭam* is doubtless an adverb 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith)

bhūyaś ca śaradah śatat VS MG *bhūyasīḥ* (mss °*sī*) *śaradah śatāt* AV

sa no neḍiṣṭha havanāni joṣate (MS *haviana jujoṣa*) TS MS *sa no neḍiṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and *havanani joṣat*) KS *neḍiṣṭham* adverb in KS

6 Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735 An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded Cf Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2 *King* Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guildenstern *Queen* Thanks, Guildenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz —The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §§353ff

candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāḥ (KS TB Poona ed and comm °*nā*) VS KS TB *śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (p p °*nāḥ*) The sing agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, the plural with S and the Aśvins On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf VV 2 §381

tvaṣṭā viṣṇuḥ (MS *viṣṇus tvaṣṭā*) *prajayā samrarāṇaḥ* (VS KS ŚB °*nāḥ*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ ApMB The verb, in the following pāda, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS , which has the mantra three times with plural pple , the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with v l plural in one case) See VV 1 p 262 under *yajamānāya dravinam dadhāta* (°*tu*) Probably the plural should be read all three times

(*idā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhāratī gṛnānā* AV MS (*idā sarasvatī bhāratī*) *mahī gṛnānā* (KS *mahīr gṛnānāh*) VS TS KS *idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahīh* (TB *mahī*) VS TB In the last formula (in which the Poona ed of TB separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB comm interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyah*), going with all the nouns (!)

Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning

§736 The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned, we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups First, 'transfer of epithet' the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number Second, 'phrase inflection' the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved, in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential

7 Transfer of epithet

§737 We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases, see §14 for a general statement Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number, these will not be repeated here The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural

indrena devaih saratham turebhih (AV *turena*) RV AV Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet *tura* is transferred within its pāda from *devaih* to *indrena*

viśvā rūpāni sambhrtā (JB °*tam*) SV JB ŞB LŚ Preceded by *gāya-*

tram traiṣṭubham jagat, JB makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda

taj (RV *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *yad agne kāni kāni cid, ā te dārūṇi dadhmasi* (with slight variants) RV refers *tā* to *dārūṇi*, the others with *taj* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*

niṣkṛītah sa (TS *niṣkṛīto 'yam*, KS MŚ *niṣkṛītās te*) *yajñiyam bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ *bhāgam yantu*) AV TS KS MŚ Singular refers to *pasupati*, plural to the cattle themselves

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāh (MS °*nah*) RV TS MS KS Preceded by *priyā vo nāma huve turānām* The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *tṛpat*, Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome, see Oldenberg

īdāno (KS °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS °*nim*) *namasā* AV VS VSK TS MS KS The latter makes the epithet agree with *sruco* in the next pāda, see §399

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāh VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV The YV texts make *uru*° agree with *dvāras*, AV has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhāmnā*

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh (KS † °*nah*, mss *vamānah*) VS MS KS ŚB *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS Pischel *VSt* 2 213 has made it probable that the original had *vasānah*, epithet of Varuna in the following pāda In VS MS it is transferred to *āpah* in the preceding, the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift

mayobhuvo vṛṣṭayah santv asme RV KS *mayobhūr vāto viṣvakṛṣṭayah santv asme* TA In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vāto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA

dhanur hastād ādadāno (TA °*nā*) *mṛtasya* RV AV TA AG 'Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man' With Oldenberg on RV 10 18 9 we understand *tvam* in the following half verse (*atraiva tvam iha vayam suvīrāh* [*suśevāh*]) of the dead man, TA comm understands it of the widow and makes *ādadānā* fem sg agreeing with it, we take the pple as *ādadānāh* nom pl masc going with *vayam*, cf Oldenberg's remarks, the sg doubtless refers to the son of the deceased

tābhiṣ ṭvābhiṣṭiñcāmi MG *tena tvām abhiṣiñcāmi* YDh Preceded by *sahasrākṣam śatadhāram ṛṣibhih pāvanam kṛtam*, and followed by

pāvamānīḥ pṛnantu twā (with minor variants) YDh has adopted for *tena* the number and gender of *pāvanam*, instead of *pāvamānīḥ*

§738 In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an 'epithet' of another word (§15)

asme (ApŚ *asmai*) *karmane jātaḥ* MS ApŚ 'Born for us for the rite (for this rite)' Cf VV 2 §704, and above §721

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana* VS Keith and Caland assume *asmai* as intended, cf prec But *asme* might at a pinch be interpreted as 'ethical dative' 'O gods, regard the wonder which we tell' The change is really phonetic in character, however

kṣutpipāsāmalā jyeṣṭhāḥ (TAA °*malaṃ jyeṣṭhāṃ*) RVKh TAA Scheftelowitz reads *jyeṣṭhām*, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lakṣmī), if *jyeṣṭhāḥ* be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following *alakṣmīr* (for which Scheft adopts the monstrous *alakṣmīn*) If °*malā* can stand it is doubtless a fem acc pl, epithet of *alakṣmīr* ('stained by hunger and thirst'), the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n pl (for °*malāni*), °*malaṃ* would be an independent coordinate noun, 'the stain of hunger and thirst'

8 Phrase inflection

§739 This has also been met above, under variations in the cases, cf §§21–2 It is essentially a matter of adaptation of old material to a new context

adharāñcaḥ parā suva VS MS KS (sc *yātudhānyaḥ*) *adharāñcam parā suva* AV (sc *takmānam*)

viprā viprasya bṛhato vipaścitaḥ RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU *vipro viprasya sahaso vipaścit* AV The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (*aja*)

viśvāhā dhattam anapasphurantīm RV VS ŚB ApŚ *viśvāhā santv anapasphurantīḥ* AV TA 'Ever not shrinking from being milked', of a cow or cows, in different contexts

trīr varān vṛṇīṣva Kauś *varam vṛṇīṣva* ApMB HG Not true variants

sarāḥ (RV VS *sīrāḥ*) *patatriṇī(ḥ) sthana* (KS *stha*) RV VS TS MS KS *sarā patatriṇī bhūtvā* AV Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts

indro vaḥ (AV *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV AV SV VS TS Different contexts

trir ā divo vidathe patyamānah (°*nāh*) RV (both)
yatamānā (°*no*) *raśmibhih sūryasya* RV (both)
ratnam devasya savitur iyānah (°*nāh*) RV (both)
rakṣohano (VS ŚB °*hano vo*) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* (ApŚ * °*vam*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ (bis) In ApŚ 11 12 5, where *vaiṣnavān* is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS and the rest, the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes' In 12 2 15 the skin (*carma*) for the soma-pressing is addressed in a different context, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing *vaiṣnavam* being appropriate Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of the formula, perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring to any 'demon-slaying' entities
rāyas poṣe yajñapatim ābhajantīh (TS * °*tī*) VS TS (both) MS KS ŚB
rodena kṛnvatīr (*kṛnvaty, kṛnvanto*) *agham* AV (ter)
samjagmāno abhbhyuṣā RV AV SV N *samjagmānū abhbhyuṣīh* (MS *avihrutāh*) AV MS
kas tvā yunaktu sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB °*tu*) VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ *ko vo yunaktu sa vo yunaktu* ApŚ MŚ *kas te yunaktu* MG Also with forms of *yu-muc*, to different ritual entities
adabdhena tvā (KS * ApŚ * *vas*) *cakṣuṣāvapaśyāmi* VS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ *adabdhena tvā* (ApŚ * *vas*) *cakṣuṣāvekṣe* TS MS ApŚ MŚ MG (delete KS reference in Conc)
sumṛdīkān abhiṣṭaye RV TS MS *sumṛdīkam abhiṣṭaye* RV VS BSK TS MS KS ŚB
tasya vayam sumatau yajñiyasya RV AV VS TS MS KS TB *teṣām vayam sumatau yajñiyānām* RV AV VS TS KS MŚ SMB PG N Several different contexts
yathāham asya virasya RV ApMB *yathaham eṣām bhūtānām* (AV *vīrānām*) RV AV The sing is said by a woman of her husband, RV *bhūtānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV *vīrānām*, but apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of *vīrasya* in the different RV context
evā trināmann ahṛnīyamānah (TS °*nāh*) AV TS
ghṛtapruṣā manasā (TB *madhunā*) *havyam undan* (VS *manasā modamānāh*) RV VS MS KS TB Several different contexts
anhoś cid asmā urucakrir adbhutah RV *anhoś cid urucakrayah* RV *anhoś cid urucakrayo 'nehasah* RV
ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi TB *ado yad avadhāvati* AV *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG ApMB

asmabhyam gātuvittamāh (RV * °*mah*) RV (bis) SV As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different

īśānam vāryānām RV AV SV TS MS KS JB *īśānā vāryānām* RV AV MS TB TA

tāns te paridadāmy aham ApŚ *tām te paridadāmy aham* (TA *paridadāmi*) TA ApŚ

ya (AV * *ye antarikṣa*) *oṣadhīṣu paśuṣv apsv antah* (KS *paśuṣv āviveśa*) AV (bis) KS

bhakṣīya te (and *vo*) *'vaso daivyasya* RV (both) Sing Indra, pl the Maruts

bhūtyai tvā (Kauś *vah*) KS TA ApŚ Kauś Hardly true variants

tān (TS * *tam*) *rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan* (TS * *dabhat*) VS TS (bis) MS KS ŚB

mayi vah kāmadharanam bhūyāt (ŚŚ om *bhūyāt*) VS ŚB ŚŚ *mayi te kāmadharanam bhūyāt* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣānah* (TB * °*nāh*) VS MS KS TB (both)

subhūtāya tvā (ŚŚ *vah*, HG adds *paridadāmi*) ApŚ ŚŚ HG Hardly true variants

anehasas tvotayah RV *anehaso va ūtayah* RV

ayam vo garbha ṛtviyah VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayam te yonir ṛtviyah* RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB AŚ MŚ ApŚ JābU Different contexts and probably not true variants

mayi vo (TS * *te*) *rāyah srayantām* TS (both) MS KS LŚ

indraghoṣas (KS MS °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhih purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah pu*n *pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhih pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *indraghoṣā vo vasubhih purastād upadadhatām* TA This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA (with plural acc pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg) to the altar The settings are wholly different, obviously TA has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manojavās* and *pracetās* The other two are

tvaṣṭā tvā rūpair uparistāt pātu KS ApŚ *tvaṣṭā vo rūpair uparistād upadadhatām* TA And

visvakarmā tvādityair uttaratah (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB *visvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA

devas tvā savitā punātv (MŚ GG KhG *savitotpunātv*) *achidrena* TS MS KS MŚ GG KhG *devo vah savita punatv achidrena* MS KS

upahūta (LŚ. °*tā*) *upahavam te* (LŚ *vo*) °*śiya* TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ *akṣans tān* VS KS TB *aghat tam* VS *aghastām tam* MS TB 3 6 15 1 The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but related contexts

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛṇomi AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG The AV addresses the subjects of a king, the others the guru's śiṣya at the upanayana

rakṣānsi tayā (and *tābhir*) *daha jātavedah* Kauś (both)

irām vahanto (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāh* AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG ApMB MG *irām vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG In different contexts, MG refers to the bride But the adaptation of the formula in MG is imperfect, we fail to see how Knauer can defend the correctness of his text as he does

ayakṣmāya tvā samiṣṭyāmi prajābhyah VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah prajayā samiṣṭyāmi* KS TB ApŚ Different contexts

9 Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740 Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one or vice versa For example *ṛtena* (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB MG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhi roha vansa* (MG *vanšah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG, 'mount, O pole, upon the post(s)' or the like The dual form of ApMB HG can have no standing and is best regarded as a phonetic corruption (*v* for *m*, VV 2 §237) The verse is used in mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others), either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual The plural of MG may be defended, tho KG 11 3 has *sthūnam*, Ppp is quoted by Roth as *sthunā dhi*

Other instances

mahad adya bharatasya (and *bharatānām*) ŚB (both) *mahākarma bharatasya* AB The singular refers to Bharata Dauhṣanti, the plural to the Bharata family

atharvane svāhā ŚB *atharvabhyah* (sc *svāhā*) BDh Hardly to be considered variants The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva Veda, the singular the ṛṣi Atharvan

ādityaś ca me sāvitraś ca me TS *ādityāś ca mā indraś ca me* MS Same context, sc in both 'prosper by the sacrifice' In TS *grahah* is understood 'the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)', in MS 'the Ādityas'

brāhmanas tvā nāthakāma upadhāvāmi (ApMB *°kāmah prapadye*) SMB PG ApMB HG *brāhmano vo nāthakāma upaṭhāvāmi* SMB Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods, plural to them all collectively

abhayam vo (ŚŚ ** te*) *'bhayam no astu* (AB AŚ *me 'stu*) AB AŚ ŚŚ (both) The formula with *te* is repeated at each of the three altars, and then with *vo* referring to all three as in the other texts

idam tam (and *tān*) *ati srjāmi tam* (and *tān*) *mābhy avanikṣi* AV (both) Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities

eṣa vo deva savitaḥ somaḥ TS ApŚ *deva savitar eṣa te somaḥ* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ Followed by *mā tvā* (TS *vo*) *dabhan* (TS *dabhat*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The plural pronoun refers to the gods including Savitar

mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratīkṣe (with variants) VSK TS KS KB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ AG *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā prekṣe* (*cakṣuṣānuvīkṣe*) MS AŚ MŚ Reference to various ritual entities, in same context

utemāḥ paśya TS *utemam paśya* MS MŚ In the same context, but with different reference, in TS to waters, in MS MŚ to *yajña*

devasya tvā (MS *vaḥ*) *savituḥ prasave samvapāmi* VS MS TB ŚB (Delete reference to MS under *devasya tvā* in Conc.) Singular refers to rice, plural to rice and water

aniśitāsi sapatnakṣit VS *aniśito 'si sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB *aniśitah* (KS ApŚ add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīh* MS KS ApŚ Used in the same ritual context of various implements, one or several (sruc, sruva)

rakṣohanam tvā valagahanam avasīnāmi (and *avastṛnāmi*) *vaiṣnavam* MS MŚ *rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasīnāmi* (and *'vastṛnāmi*) *vaiṣnavān* KS *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastṛnāmi vaiṣnavān* VS VSK TS ŚB Four holes are referred to, MS MŚ address them one by one

yā (ApMB HG *yām*) *ādhiraj jamadagnih* PG ApMB HG In the same context, singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers

pratnam ni pāti kavyam RV †*pratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyah* KS See §403

10 Form assimilation

§741 Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity, altho the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet' Thus

trih sapta mātuh paramāni vindan RV *trih sapta paramam nāma jānan* ArS Preceded in both by *te manvata prathamam nāma dhenoh* 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow)' The change to singular in ArS is due to the preceding singulars

abhi priyā (SV *priyam*) *divas padam* RV SV It is obvious that SV has assimilated the adjective to *padam* This is a lect fac , the sense requires such a construction The RV *priyā* must be taken with Lanman *NInfl* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc as acc pl neut , sc *padāni* 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven' Cf RV 9 12 8

vāto vā (VSK *va vo*) *mano vā* VS VSK ŚB *vayur vā tvā manur vā tvā* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ N The pronoun *tva* refers to the horse mentioned in pāda c (*asvam* in all), *vo* of VSK can scarcely have any other reference, the plural may be due to thought of the 'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvan* RV AV See §487

11 Change of words or meanings of a word

§742 In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in different meanings, requiring different numbers

urjasvatī rājasvaś (TS *rajasūyaya*, MS KS *rājasuyaś*) *citānah* VS TS MS KS ŚB '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation)' In this *rajasū* or *°sūya* as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun *rajasuya* Cf next

svāhā rajasūyah MS MŚ *svaha rajasūyāya citanah* TS *svāha rajasvah* VS ŚB Cf preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts

drapsas caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV *caskanda prathaman anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Here the two meanings of the stem *div* are concerned RV 'thruout the earliest days', the others 'thru earth and heaven'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmās (TA *brahma*) *ca* AV TA Whatever *brahmaś* of AV may mean, which is uncertain, TA has a different word and means the personalized Brahman

indrasya hardy (AV *hārdim*) *avisan manīsibhih* (AV *manisaya*) RV AV SV 'By the wise (priests)' 'by wisdom'

jaghāna vrtram yatir na SV AŚ ŚŚ *vrtram yo jaghana yatir na* AV Obscure, cf Whitney on AV 2 5 3

prāvaṇebhiḥ (MS KS *pravaṇena*) *sajoṣasaḥ* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Uncertain, see VV 2 §491

yo agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhiḥ (SV °*taye*) RV SV See §567

mitraḥ satyānām (VS ŚB *satyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS PG Abstract noun adjective

12 Doubtful or erroneous

§743 Doubtful or erroneous variants

trayastriṅśat tantavo ye vi tatnire (MS *yam vitanvate*, KS AŚ *yāṅ vitanvate*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The singular makes no sense, tho MS p p also reads *yam*, it seems as if *yān* must be intended Perhaps it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final *ān* before vowels (in MS this appears as *am*), cf von Schroeder 1 p xxix

[*pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* AV KS (bis) Add KS 30 10, for which Conc has *pari tvā*]

[*arkam* (TS *bṛhad arkam*) *yuñjānāḥ svar* (*suvar*) *ābharann idam* TS MS KS Conc *yuñjānaḥ* for TS]

CHAPTER XXVIII

DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

1 Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744 The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as *devata-dvandvas* These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (*KZ* 43 110 ff , 44 23 ff) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (*mitrā* [= Mitra and Varuna], followed by *varuṇaś ca*) We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l c) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars, so also to a large extent in Sanskrit In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual, e g *mitrā-varunau*

§745 The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair The meaning is then of course different, the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member

añghriṇā viṣṇo mā tvāva (KS *viṣṇū mā vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB *agnāviṣṇū ma vam ava kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ In most texts including KS the pair Agni and Viṣnu are addressed (in KS by the elliptic dual *viṣṇū*), while VS ŚB address Viṣnu alone

kṣāman (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS KS *ketunā*) RV VS TS MS KS See §547 The original *kṣāman* = 'on the earth', KS has an elliptic dual, 'the two earths' = heaven and earth More commonly *dyāvā* 'the two heavens' is used in this sense

tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA *pitaram ca putram*) AV TA The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA by the singular 'father'

§746 Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual, yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain

dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī (ApŚ °*vīm*) SV ApŚ

§747 More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undouhtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular, a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS ŚB There is no reason to emend the ŚB reading with Eggeling and the Conc , *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuna

§748 More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words

viṣṇum agan varuṇam pūrvahūtiḥ AV *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS °*tim*) VS MS ṢB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnim indram vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham (MS °*haṇam huvema*) AV MS *agnī indrā vṛtrahaṇā huve vām* TB The double dual *indrā agnī* occurs twice in RV , and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common Note the singular adjective in MS , cf §757

§749 It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars

ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam RV *ā mitre varuṇe bhaga* SV

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB *indraḥ sūrāḥ prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ

śatam indrāgnī (AV * *śatam ta indro agniḥ*) *savitā bṛhaspatiḥ* RV AV (both) N Note that AV is metrically bad

śam no mitrāvaruṇā kartanedām AA *ūrjā mitro varuṇaḥ pinvatedāḥ* SV

ayaṃ śaṇḍo marka upavīra ulūkhalaḥ ApMB † *śaṇḍāmarkā* (HG *śaṇḍo marka*) *upavīraḥ* PG HG The ed of PG prints *śaṇḍā markā* as separate words

namo dive namaḥ pṛthivyai AV VSK TS MS GB TA AŚ LŚ ApŚ *namo dyāvāpṛthivībhyām* VS ŚB ŚŚ ŚG

§750 The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom.-acc. dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph:

ṛṣī bodhapratībodhau AV. *ṛṣir bodhaḥ prabodhaḥ* ApMB. *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS. MG. *mā*) *pratībodhaś* (MG. *prati°*) *ca* AV. KS. † MG. ApMB. Note sing. *ṛṣir* in ApMB., see §757.

śākvararaivatam sāma KS. *śākvararaivate sāmanī* VS. TS. MS. KS. Again cf. §757.

mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ VS. MS. TB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *mayi dakṣakratū* ApŚ. AG. HG.

vairūpam ca vairājam cāparau AB. *vairūpavairāje anūcī* LŚ.

sarma varūtham (HG. *sarmavarūthe*) *punatī na ūgāt* ApMB. HG. But for the separate accents, *sarma-varūtham* of ApMB. might be considered a singular dvandva, cf. next §.

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena traiṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* MS. KS. *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* TS.

bṛhac ca te rathamtaram ca pūrvau pādau bhavatam AB. *bṛhadrathamtare te pūrvau pādau* LŚ.

§751 Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas:

kṣutpipāsābhyām (TAA. °*sāya*) *svāhā* SMB. TAA. GG.

iṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir (*kṛnavathāmir, kṛnutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ. *iṣṭapūrtam sma kṛnutāvn asmai* AV. *iṣṭāpūrtam kṛnutād avir asmai* KS.

dakṣakratū (MS. ed. † °*tu*, v. l. °*tū*) *te maitrāvārunah pātu* MS. ApŚ.

jīmūtān hṛdayaupasābhyām (VS. °*sena*, VSK. °*sna*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The p.p. of TS. divides *hṛdaya-aupasa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahīdhara takes the cpd. as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva.

2. Collective singular varies with dual

§752 Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

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2. Collective singular varies with dual

§752 Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

nostrils) dual Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem dual This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dvandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph, and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore

viśākhe nakṣatram TS . *viśākham nakṣatram* MS KS † So von Schroeder reads in KS with two mss , one ms *viśākhā*, which must be fem and may be understood as either sing or plu Only one ms of MS has *viśākhe* The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing , dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem gender, cf §798

§753 The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing and dual

apānena nāsike (MS °*kām*) VS MS

asyā (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °*yām*) AB MG *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh ApMB The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV) is regularly dual, it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen

ānandam nandathunā (KSA °*thubhyām*) TS KSA *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context The dual of KS suggests perhaps 'testicles', 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS (comm *guhyendriyam*) A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these

aṣṭrām tādam pratīnāhā (ApŚ *tālam pratīnāham*) MS ApŚ Refers to some unknown part of the plow Caland adopts the MS reading for ApŚ , but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing

punarvasur (TS °*sū*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Usually dual

3 Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754 Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body, usually both are comprehensible Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'), in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual

jambhābhyām (VS TS °*bhyaṃs*, KS °*bhyebhiṃs*) *taskarān* (°*raṅ*, °*rān*) *uta* VS TS MS KS

javam jaṅghābhiḥ (VS °*bhyām*) VS TS MS KSA The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper, VS must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only

girīn plāśibhiḥ (MS °*śibhyām*) VS TS MS KSA The stem *plāśi* is usually sg or plu , its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms are not worth quoting

4 Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§765 Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups Thus the constellation *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural

phalgunīr (TS °*nī*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS

phalgunīṣu (ApG °*nībhyām*) *vy uhyate* (ApG *ūh*°) AV Kauś ApG

marutaḥ sadohavirdhānaiḥ (TA °*dhānābhyām*) MS TA *aditiḥ sadohavirdhānābhyām* KS The *havirdhāna* itself is referred to as either sg or dual (cf TS 3 1 3 1), combined with the sg *sadas*, the compound is either dual or plural

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV *vi yo rajāṅsy amimīta sukratuḥ* RV The 'spaces' (*rajas*) are either two or three (or even more) in number

5 Generalizing dual (for sing) and plural

§766 In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair, otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same The dual may be a single uncompounded word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound, in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning

ud eṣām bāhū (MS MŚ *bāhūn*) *atiram* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible, but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity

apochatu (AV °*ntu*) *muthunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinaḥ*) RV AV The *kimīdins* are apt to go in pairs (§764), the RV dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them

ahorātrayoḥ samdhibhyo jatūḥ VS *ahnaḥ samdhibhyām jatūḥ* MS Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'

ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Day-and-night' 'days and nights'

śam ahobhyaḥ (TS *ahobhyām*) VS TS ŚB KŚ Here the relation is not quite the same, TS has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night', the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights That *ahan* may mean this is proved e g by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day

utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam VS *utkūlavikūlābhyām tiṣṭhinam* TB Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities

6 Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757 An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair, of the like variation between singular and plural, §735 Some cases of this sort will be found in §750 Also

yasya dyaur urvī pṛthivī ca mahī AV *yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS *dṛḍhe*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS Here the original makes *dṛḍhā* apply only to *pṛthivī*, TS applies it to *dyaus* also

§758 Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity

vipipānā (VS °*nāḥ*) *sarasvatī* VS MS The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī

(āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau) gopā me stam ātmasadau me stam AV *(āyuṣ tad āyupatni* [read *āyuṣkṛd āyupatnī*?] *svadhāvo) gopā nah stha rakṣitārah* KS *(āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā vo) goptryo me stha ātmasado me stha* ApŚ Explained VV 1 §357

§758a Once a sing , doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet

savitur bāhū stho devajanānām vidharanih (KapS °*nī*) KS KapS (Oertel 137) Two blades of grass are addressed, KapS surely intends a dual, 'two supporters', KS , 'a support' The stem *vidharani* is not recorded in the lexicons

§759 Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair

ugrampaśye ugrajitau tad adya AV *ugrampaśyā* (MS text *ugram paśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TA *dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* TB Followed by *apsarasāv* , the epithets agree with this word (AV), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case)

§760 Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!), in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible

anuvatsarīnām svastim āśāste TB ApŚ *anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse* MŚ 'He desires well-being lasting for an anuvatsara' 'I desire well-being lasting for an anuvatsara and for an udvatsara '

§761 Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthinau [grahau]* with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryus*)

madhyatahkārinām camasādhvaryavo vaṣaṭkṛtānuvaṣaṭkṛtāñ (MŚ °*te*) *juhuta* ApŚ MŚ ' offer the (MŚ two?) oblations (in ApŚ *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vaṣaṭ* and by the secondary *vaṣaṭ* '

7 Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural (§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of case, these latter being treated above under case variations Variations between singular and dual are

te asya yoṣane divye (KS *divyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS The sing of KS agrees with *yonir* in the next pāda

ubhā kavī yuvānā (PG *yuvā*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ PG *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ Followed in PG by *yo no dharmaḥ parādpatat*, Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmaḥ* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it

dīrghaprayajyum ati yo vanuṣyati RV TS MS N *dīrghaprayajyū haviṣā vṛdhānā* MS TB The latter occurs in a modification of

the RV verse (which MS elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuna, here Mitra-Varuna)

viśvakarmaṇa tanūpā asi ŚB · *viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ* ŚŚ Explained VV 1 §351

indraṣya vām (TB *te*) *vīryakṛto* VS VSK ŚB TB See §521

aśvinendram na jāgṛvi (TB °*vī*) VS MS TB Comm on VS takes *jāgṛvi* as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR and VV 2 §525) In TB it is made to agree with *aśvinā*

§763 Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are

navena pūrvam dayamānāḥ syāma (VS TB *dayamāne*) VS MS KS † 19 13 TB (both) The plural agrees with the subject, the dual with *devī* to whom the passage is addressed

sa viśvācīr (KS °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīḥ* (KS °*cī*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun is mentioned, cf ŚB 9 2 3 17 KS attracts the adjectives into agreement with *rodasī* For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §357

8 Phrase inflection

§764 Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms Thus

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB † °*padā babhūva*) ApMB HG · *sakhā* (PG *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB PG °*dā*) *bhava* AG ŚG KauŚ ApMB PG SMB MG *sakhāyaḥ saptapadā abhūma* TB ApŚ See VV 1 p 274

yātudhānam kimīdinam AV *yātudhānān kimīdinaḥ* AV *yātudhānā kimīdinā* RV Different contexts Fiends are otherwise known to go in pairs (*mithunā* precedes in RV), cf *apochatu* etc, §756

tā no mṛdāla īdṛśe RV SV VS VSK TS KS *te no mṛdantv īdṛśe* AV *sa no mṛdātīdṛśe* RV AV TS MS KS ApMB N

§765. Variations between dual and singular

gṛṇāna (RV * SV * °*no*) *jamadagninā* RV (both) SV (both) AŚ ŚŚ AG ŚG

tanvāno (TB °*ne*) *yajñam purupeśasam dhiyā* RV TB The latter lifts the pāda from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to *dyāvāpṛthivī*

yajñasyāyuḥ pratiran (KS * †2 7, MŚ *pratirantau*) MS KS (both) MŚ Two wholly different contexts in KS, MS agrees with one, MŚ with the other

viśvair devaiḥ pitṛbhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ RV TS *viśvair devair yajñiyaiḥ saṃvidānau* (TS KSA °*naḥ*) TS KSA TB AŚ In TS KS two different verses, one adopted from RV, in TB AŚ this single pāda is used in a wholly different context

devī devebhir yajatā (and °*te*) *yajatraiḥ* RV (both) · *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV AV MS

tasyām (ApŚ *tayor*) *devā adhisaṃvasantaḥ* TS TB ApŚ *tasyām devaiḥ saṃvasanto mahitvā* AV *yasyām* (v l *asyām*) *devā abhisaṃvisantaḥ* MŚ Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ

jyotiṣe tvā VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ *jyotiṣe vām* KS ApŚ Different contexts, dual only in one passage of KS ApŚ Also *tejase tvā* (*vām*), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (*vām*), *varcase tvā* (*vām*), and *prajābhyas tvā* (°*bhyo vām*), sings in various texts, duals only KS ApŚ

āśāsānā medhapatibhyām (MS KS °*pataye*) *medham* MS KS AB KB TB AŚ ŚŚ The ūhas *medhapataye* and °*patibhyaḥ* are prescribed in the sequel in AB, see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102 Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764

bhadrā te pūṣann (TA * *bhadrā vām pūṣaṇāv*) *iha rātir astu* RV SV TS MS KS TA (both) N Here a whole stanza is adapted to a different context in TA The sing is addressed to Pūṣan, or according to the TA comm to *saṃvatsara*, the dual, to *dyāvāpṛthivī* The next two occur in the same verse

śukram vām anyad rajatam (Poona ed *yaj*°, v l *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA *śukram te anyad yajatam te anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB KB TA AŚ Svidh N And

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ (SV °*van*, TA * *avathaḥ svadhāvantau*) RV SV TS MS KS TA (both) N See prec

devas tvā (ApŚ *devo vām*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ

viśvet tā te (RV * *vām*) *savaneṣu pravācyā* RV (both)

stomebhir havanaśrutam (and °*tā*) RV (both)

dīrgham vām (and *ta*) *āyuḥ savitā kṛnotu* AV (both) In different parts of the marriage ceremony, sing is the wife, dual husband and wife Might perhaps be called a vikāra and placed in §769

patī (RV * *patim*) *turasya rādhasaḥ* RV (both) KS

rājantam adhvarāṇām RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājantāv adhvarāṇām* RV

sāmrājyāya sukratuḥ (RV * °*tū*) RV (both) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

arvāñcā vām (and *arvāñcam tvā*) *saptayo 'dhvaraśriyaḥ* RV (both) See

RVRep on 1 47 8, which calls the sing an ūha of the dual, it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas

āyur vām (AV MG *°āyuṣ ṭe) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV MG (both)

anu (MS *nu*, read *anu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyet* (MS KS °*yat*, VS ŚB °*yat svāhā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV * TS * *ṭā*) *caranyat* (AV °*yāt*, TS °*yet*) AV (bis) TS (bis) MS KS KB AS ŚS

catuḥśikhaṇḍā yuvatiḥ supeśāḥ (KS *supatnī*) KS TB ApŚ *catuḥśikhaṇḍe yuvatī kanīne* ApŚ In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context See next

ghṛtapratīkā (ApŚ * °*ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB ApŚ (both) Follows the prec

dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV (ter) JB Kauś ApMB

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV JB *emām anu sarpata* MS It seems that MS has adapted the SV original to a different ritual context The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS is obscure, see ApŚ 4 10 4, with Caland's translation, which deals with the same ritual With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual, *imām* of MS would seem to refer to *idā*

nīlalohitam bhavati RV AV *nīlalohite bhavataḥ* ApMB Whitney says that ApMB speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts) Perhaps the variant did originate in that way, but ApG uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA °*ṭām*, and *bādhethām*) AV TA (bis) According to Kauś 82 32 the AV verse is used in burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree TA uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in constructing the funeral pyre, the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the *paridhis* (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre, the verse is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and west pair

vidhṛtir asi TA ŚŚ *vidhṛti sthaḥ* MS

§766 Phrase inflection, variations between dual and plural

indravantā (TB °*tau*) *hasta idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ *indravanto hasta idam juṣantām* TB ApŚ

yahvī ṛtasya mātarā RV *yahvīr ṛtasya mātaraḥ* RV

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV

puruṣe 'dhi samāhitāḥ (and °*te*) AV Both in the same verse; the dual goes with *amṛtam ca mṛtyuś ca*, the plural with *nādyaḥ*

asme vo (*vām*) *astu sumatiś caniṣṭhā* RV (both)

agner vo 'pannagṛhasya (TS * TB ApŚ * *vām apanna*°) *sadasi sādayāmi* VS TS (both) MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ (both) MŚ

ayam śraiṣṭhye dadhatu naḥ (PG *nau*) ŚG PG The dual refers to the householder and his wife, the plural, in a different context, is generalizing or 'editorial'

ṛtāvānā (°*vāno*) *jane-jane* RV

sam u vām (*vo*) *yajñam mahayam* (°*yan*) *namobhiḥ* RV (both)

saha naḥ sādhukṛtyā ŚB LŚ KŚ *sahaiva nau sukṛtam saha duṣkṛtam* Kauś *sukṛtam nau saha* Kauś

sam vām (AV MS * KS * *vo*) *manānsi sam vratā* AV VS TS MS (both) KS (both) ŚB

9 Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767 The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group, we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding —When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff , and when, without such transference, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff

§768 Variations of all three numbers

tasya te dattām yasya (and *yayoḥ*) *prāno 'si svāhā* TS *tasya te dadatu yeṣām prāno 'si svāhā* TS *tasya te dadātu yasya prāno 'si svāhā* TS Modulations in the same passage For *yasya* after *dattām*, *yayoḥ* is to be expected, perhaps a mere error?

tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc *dhruvaḥ sīda* VS ŚB TA *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāḥ sīdata* TS Also *tena brahmanā* etc , see Conc

āgneyah kṛṣnagrīvah VS TS KSA . *āgneyau kṛṣnagrīvau* TS KSA *kṛṣnagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe* (MS *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS MS *kṛṣnagrīvā āgneyāh* VS MS ApŚ All in lists of animals at the aśvamedha TS KS have sg and dual in adjoining formulas Probably the plural is a substitute for the dual, but this may itself be a mere ūha of the sing

yāni gharme kapālāni TS. MS KS KŚ MŚ In MŚ two ūhas *yad gharme*, and *ye gharme*

agnim adya hotāram avṛnītāyam yajamānah MS (and the next five items in Conc) *agnim adya hotāram* (*avṛnītām imau yajamānau*, and *avṛnīteme yajamānāh*) ŚŚ See Conc

agnaye prahriyamānāyānubrūhi ŚB KŚ MŚ *agnibhyām prahriyamānābhyām anubrūhi* KŚ *agnibhyah prahriyamanebhyo 'nubruhi* ŚB

asāv (*asā*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuhi jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ *amū anu mā tanutam*, and *amī anu mā tanuta* MŚ Ūhas

punah kṛnvans tvā pitaram yuvānam TS *punah kṛnvantah pitaro yuvānah* MS *punah kṛnvānā* (KS *kṛnvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS KS † ŚB We cannot interpret this passage It seems that the dual, as in VS KS , is probably original, Mahīdhara takes *kṛnvānā* as plural, for °*nāh*! Even such violence helps little

§769 Dual and singular

samjagmāno (KS °*nā*, MS TB ApŚ MŚ °*nau*) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Same context, but in VS ŚB the formula is repeated, once each with the śukra and manthin grahas, while in the others it goes with both together See §576 In VS MS KS immediately followed by

śukrah sukraśocisā VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *śukrau śukraśocisau* MS As preceding, but here KS follows with a separate formula *manthī manthiśocisā*, while TB ApŚ do not connect this immediately with the preceding

kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau MŚ *kṛnotu so adhvarān* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB AŚ *so adhvarā* (AB *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB See VV 1 p 263, under *ayād agnir* , also next

yakṣat svam mahimānam VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ *yakṣatah svau mahimānau* MŚ In same context as prec , *mahiman* pertains to the subject and varies in number with it

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB *prānāpānābhyām me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ See VV 1 §368

tasyai (*tābhyām*, in 11 2 27 read *tasmai*) *namo yatamasyām diśītah*

AV (all three) All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon, practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765

veṣāya vām (TS TB ApŚ *tvā*) VS † 1 6, TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Kauś Sing used by TS addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS in addressing both together Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS *tā* (VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV VS MS KS ŚB N In a Viṣṇu hymn, the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣnu alone in the sing The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural

aśmeva tvam sthirā (MG ApMB * HG * †1 4 1 *sthiro*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB (bis) HG (bis) MG *aśmeva yuvām sthirau bhavatam* MG Sing fem refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context The masc sing is used in a different context

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS °*ny*) *asi* TS MS KS MahānU MŚ *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthah* VS ŚB Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS 18 27

eṣā te agne samit tayā (MŚ *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ ApŚ ŚG ApMB HG *ete vām agnī samidhau tābhyām vardhethām cā ca pyāyethām* KŚ (an ūha quoted in KŚ comm)

āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau AV *āyuṣ ṭad āyuṣpatnī* (ms °*nīh*) *svadhāvah* KS *āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā vah* ApŚ The reference seems to be to the sacred fires, so at least in ApŚ , obscure in the others AV continues with dual forms, KS ApŚ with plurals, see *gopā me stam* (*gopā nah stha, goptryo me stha*), §758

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV AV *āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV In RV the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth In AV *mātaram* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda, cf RV 8 45 4, 77 1

grāvacyuto dhiṣaṇayor upasthāt VS ŚB *bāhucyuto dhiṣaṇāyā* (TS *dhiṣaṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS °*sthe*) RV TS KS GB Vait MŚ See Hillebrandt, *VMyth* ² 1, p 426 ff According to H *dhiṣaṇā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV only 'heaven and earth'), then the *vedi* identified with the earth If so, VS TS have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense, the comm makes it refer to the 'pressing planks '

viṣnor manasā pūte sthah (Kauś * *pūtam asi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś (both) GG KhG Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kuśa* grass, or once in Kauś to a single one

ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū (ApŚ °*yo*, AŚ † °*yor*) *navatiṣ ca pāśāh* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Spoken by the hotar as he touches the adhvaryu and the agnīdh, in the dual form both are addressed Since the agnīdh belongs to the class of adhvaryu priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic The AŚ probably has a misprint (§369)

upasṛjan (ŚG *upa sṛjam*) *dharunam mātre dharuno mātaram* (LŚ MŚ *mātre mātaram dharuno*, ApŚ *mātre mātarā dharuno*) *dhayan* VS ŚB JB LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG *upasṛjan* (AŚ *upasṛjam*) *dharunam mātaram dharuno dhayan* AB AŚ The 'dam' is earth Caland suggests that the dual *mātarā* may mean 'heaven and earth', this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate Obscure

§770 Variants between dual and plural

samprca (°*cah*, °*cas*) *stha* VS VSK KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *samiṛcau sthah* VS ŚB Also, in same passage

viṛca (°*cah*, °*cas*) *stha*, and *viṛcau sthah*, same texts See VV 1 p 259

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS TB *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etāv asadatām* (pratīkas) ApŚ

srucah sammṛddhi ŚB KŚ MŚ *srucau sammṛddhi* MŚ *sruvam ca srucaś ca sammṛddhi* ApŚ

ā mā gantām (VSK *gantam*) *pitarā mātarā ca* (VSK †*yuvam*) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB *ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāh* MS It is not clear who are meant by the 'parents' or 'fathers' For the added *ca* after a double dual see Macdonell *Ved Gr* p 156 Add to VV 1 §§337, 352

mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha AV *madhavyau stokāv* (MS *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS Why TS MS should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us Followed by

sam nas tābhyām (AV *tebhih*) *srjatu viśvakarmā* AV TS MS The interpretation depends on that of the preceding

svasāro mātaribhiarīr (AV text °*śvarīr*, read doubtless as RV) *arṛprāh* RV AV *svasārau mātaribhvarī* (text em °*śvarī*, read with mss and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *arṛpre* AV Part of a mystic verse, it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū*, cf §769 But this would involve the rash assumption that AV is more original than RV

daivyā (AV Ppp *daivā*) *hotārāv ūrdhvam* (VS °*rā ūr*°, KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS °*rā ūrdhvam imam*, AV °*ra ūrdhvam*, Ppp °*ra* [but intending °*rā* since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV Ppp VS TS MS KS 18 17a

§771 In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724, while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker

yathāyatham nau (KS *no*) *vratapate* (KS °*pā*) *vratāni* (TS MS *vratinor vratāni*, KS *vratinām vratāni*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The dual includes Agni (*vratapati*) and the yajamāna, KS's plural either refers 'editorially' to the yajamāna alone or to his associates From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732

tan (AV *tatra*) *nau samskṛtam* AV VS 4 34, KS *tan nah samskṛtam* TS MS The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?), the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone

sā no (AV *nau*) *nābhih paramam jāmi tan nau* RV AV The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse The dual of AV is doubtless secondary (cf Oldenberg on RV 10 10 4), it refers to Yama and Yamī, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference

punsām bahūnām mātara syāma (MG °*rau syāva*) ApMB MG Addressed to the wife by the husband, the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'

ṛṣabhā janayantī nah (ApMB °*yantu nau*, HG °*yantu nah*) ApMB (bis) HG *pumsā janayantī nah* ŚG Spoken by the husband, as in prec ApMB has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context

asthūri no (*no*, KS *nau*, MŚ † *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK adds *satam himāh*), *tigmena nas tejasā* (TS *no brahmanā*, KS *nau brahmanā*) *sam śiśādhi* RV VSK TS MS KS TB MŚ The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs', the plural is 'editorial' Note the inconsistency of MŚ

§772 Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest)

idāvāsmān (RVKh Muller, followed by Scheft, *idāva vām*) *anu vastām vratena* (RVKh as before *ghṛtena*) RVKh AV *idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ MŚ

10 Form assimilation

§773 In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way, the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation, in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG form of the following With cunning inanity, HG makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts Oldenberg fails to understand HG , not having in mind the MS parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuh*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns

ete te vāyo (HG *vāyavah*) MS HG *eṣa te vāyo* MS MŚ HG *etau te vāyū* HG *vāyav eṣa* (and *ete*, *etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG also O Vāyus, dual and plural) ' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG

§774 Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are

vṛṣaṇam (MS °*nā*) *āndābhyām* VS MS In the aśvamedha 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles ' The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of *āndābhyām* So with the next two, which occur in the same context

karnābhyām śrotram (MS *śrotre*) VS MS See prec

vidyutam kanīnakābhyām (MS KSA *kanīnī*°) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS Cf prec two

śrotram (AV *śrotre*) *te cakre āśtām* RV AV The AV makes *śrotra* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'

yena strīyam (PG *śrīyam*, ŚŚ *strīyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *akurutam*) ŚŚ PG SMB GG 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women) ' ŚŚ 's variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins

§775 In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality

putrah pitarāv (AV °*ram*) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* RV AV In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins, the singular of AV is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237)

duhāthām gharmadughe iva dhenū AV (in Conc preceded by *vāmam*, which belongs to the preceding pāda) *samduhāthām gharmadughevo dhenuh* TB The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a milch cow, or in AV to two cows, the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776 A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate, the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf §§730, 812)

mukham kim asya (VS *asyāsīt*) *kau* (AV VS *kim*) *bāhū, kā* (TA *kāv*, AV VS *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA †*pādāv*) *ucyete* RV AV VS TA

§777 Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant *sā no* (*nau*) *nābhih* etc , §771, and in the following

śeṣe vaneṣu mātroh (SV *mātṛṣu*) RV SV 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers' Dual in RV because reference is to the two *aranis*, plural in SV by attraction to *vaneṣu*

vājino vājajito vājam VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ *vājinau vājajitau vājam* MS KS MŚ See the several entries in Conc Two associated formulas, in KS (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf KS 14 7 206 22 f) The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other, both are dual in MS , both plural in VS TS

11 Corruptions and errors

§778 The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors

devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed) The plural is equally familiar But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait , and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732)

saha nau vratapate (TS MS add *vratinor*, KS text *vratapā vratinām*) *vratāni* VS TS MS KS ŚB The plural of KS is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*, the best mss in fact omits *vratinām*, and so KS should probably be read, *vratinām* probably crept in in the

inferior mss of KS from the mantra *agne vratapā punar vratapā vratānām vratāni*, which shortly precedes

tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā RV. ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV The original refers *mandasānā* (dual) to the Aśvins, to whom AV also refers in the sequel Apparently *sā*, nom sg fem , is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings *-ā*, no feminine entity can be concerned here

apsārasāv anu dattām ṛtūni (AV *ṛtam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anu dattāṇṛtūni* MS Phonetic corruption in MS , VV 2 p 122, 1 p 282

[*śākhābhyah svāhā* VS TS MS KSA Conc quotes *śākhābhyām* for VS TS]

[*śrotrāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ *me varcodāh*) *pavasva* VS VSK ŚB MŚ *śrotrāya (me varcodau varcase pavethām*) TS Conc Similarly under *añgebhyo me* See VV 1 §372a]

CHAPTER XXIX

GENDER

1 Male and female persons and animals

§779 We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118–25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate, sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none Thus, first, male and female animals

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *vapāyā* VS KS It is likely that KS uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī So in the next two

ayāṭ sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

ṛṣabhāya (MS *vṛṣ°*) *gavayī* VS MS *ṛṣabhāya rājñe gavayah* TS KSA

yad dharino (TS KSA TB *°nī*) *yavam atti* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ŚŚ Possibly gender-attraction from *śūdrā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse

anāśur aśvo 'yāmī (ŚŚ and AV mss *aśvāyāmī*) AV † ŚŚ † *svāśur aśvah suyāmī* (ŚŚ *asvā yāmī*) AV ŚŚ

ākhuh sṛjayā śayandakas te maitrāh (KSA ms *śayāndakās te maitryāh*) TS KSA *śāryah sṛjayah śayāndakas te maitrāh* VS MS Name of an unknown animal, male or female The ed of MS follows the p p , the other mss have *sṛjayā*

ajo (TS *ajā*) *hy agner ajaniṣṭa śokāt* (TS *garbhāt*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§780 Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *ajo* or *ajā*

so (TS *sā vā*) *apaśyaj janitāram agre,*

tena (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan,*

tena (TS *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AV *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah*, all in the same texts

§781 Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female

śilpā vaiśvadevyaḥ (MS °*vīḥ*) VS MS *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS KSA 'The (three) varicolored (animals) are for the Viśvadevas' The animals are male in TS KSA, female in VS MS

§782 Names of human or superhuman beings, varyingly male and female

śilāyāṅjanīkarīm (TB °*ram*) VS TB 'An ointment-maker' (female VS, male TB)

piśācebhyo bidalakārīm (TB °*ram*) VS TB

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakakāram (VS *kaṇṭakīkārīm*) VS TB Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc in the other

pra devāḥ (AV *devīḥ*) *prota sūnṛtā* RV AV TS MS Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV

kātyāyanāya (MahānU °*yanyai*) *vidmahe* TA MahānU Epithets of Śiva or his consort

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed *ākrayāyā*°) TB A nonce-deity, *ākraya* or °*yā*

yamāya (TB *yamyai*) *yamasūm* VS TB

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devaraś ca AV *pratīkṣantāṃ †śvaśruvo devaraś ca* ApMB

2 Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783 We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns This shift may be signalized by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter *a* stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine *ā* or *ī* stem of like meaning, or when an *n* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc), now with one in *a* (neut) It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders, this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context

Masculine and feminine

§784 We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least

historically secondary Thus the word *yoni* is always masc in RV, and the fem is rare in the older language, its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem gender Among the variants, MS and KS, the oldest YV texts, show only masc gender, with one exception (the first) in MS

sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *a pṛṇasva* (°*vā*) *ghṛtena* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

svam (TS † only *svām*, thrice) *yonim ihāsadah* VS TS MS KS

svām (MS KS *svam*) *yonim gacha* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *svayonim gacha* MG (with v l *svam yonim*, which Conc suggests reading because of the MS reading)

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*, for *svam*") *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

dhruvam (TS *dhruvām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hiṃsiṣtam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim aviṣantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS KS *mā mā hiṃsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āviṣantī* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *mainam hiṃsiṣtam svām yonim āviṣantau* AB

ebhyo (Kauś *ābhyo*) *yonibhyo adhi jātavedāh* VS MS KS AŚ Kauś

yasyai (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiranyayī* VS VSK ŚB *atho yonir hiranyayī* TS *yonir yas te hiranyayah* KS

§785 Next the stem *rayi* or *rai* Wackernagel 3 p 216 notes that the word is regularly masc in RV and suggests that the fem is due to influence of *puṣṭi* or the like

sa no dadātu tam (AV *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ

athāsmabhyam sahavīrām (AV VSK MS KS °*vīram*) *rayim dāh* AV VS VSK TS MS KS HG Wackernagel l c mentions *rayim sahavīram* and *sarvavīram* (see next) among the RV phrases in which AV keeps masc gender, otherwise the word is regularly fem in AV But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not Rigvedic

rayim ca nah sarvavīram (TS † °*rām*) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV TS MS *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu svāhā* (VSK om *svāhā*) VS VSK ŚB *sano rayim sahavīram ni yansat* KS Cf RV 10 15 11d, and see prec

§786 The stem *div* (*dyu*) is regularly masc in the early language, later fem, see Wackernagel 3 p 221

abhīmam (TS MS † °*mām*, MS MŚ v l °*mān*) *mahīm ā* (VS °*mā*, delete MŚ v l in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§787. The word *kalaśa* is regularly masc , in the following **ApMB.** seems to show a fem form *kalaśīr*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalasair*, cf §412 and VV 2 §701

ā dadhnah kalaśair (ApMB °*śīr*, MG °*śam*) *aguh* (*ayān*, etc) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG

§788 We come now to words in which fem gender appears to be regular or at least historically original

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB The word *iṣu* is regularly fem in the older language (always in RV) Here the masc pronoun may have been due to the series of masc *ye*'s in the preceding and following formulas

avakām (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS p p *avakām*) *dantamūlaih* VS MS KSA ŚB

vy amīvāś (TB °*vāns*) *cātayasvā viṣūcīh* RV TB Both edd of TB *amīvāṅś*, and comm likewise *amīvān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *viṣūcīh* agree No masc is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem adjective *viṣūcīh* we may assume an ancient corruption

pravayāhnāhar jinva VS *pravāyāhne 'har jinva* MS *pravāsi* TS KS Vait (*prāvo 'sy ahnāsi* GB Gaastra, corrupt) The masc is otherwise unknown, but MS p p gives *pravāya*

[*rtena* (MG *rteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnīv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhi roha vansa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG See §740]

§789 In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender In some cases both seem equally regular, one is a ἅπ λεγ

enām parisrutah kumbhah AV *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG Other GS texts preserve *kumbhah* which seems to be original in this formula

dadhi mantham (ŚŚ *manthām*) *parisrutam* (ŚŚ *parisrutam*) AV ŚŚ

agner akṣnah kanīnakam (VSK °*kām*, TS MS KS °*nikām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

vṛtrasyāsi kanīnakah (MS MŚ MG °*nikā*) VS MS ŚB MŚ MG *mitrasyāsi kanīnikā* KS *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*nakāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ

śimāh (VS *simāh*) *kṛnvantu* (VS * *samyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS *śamyantīh*) VS (bis) TS KSA † An unknown word, cf VV 2 §§278, 572

Masculine and neuter

§790 Among the masc -neut variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun Special attention will be called to these

§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.) Even Benfey's Glossary to SV gives the gender as masc Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV, and here it is obviously neuter, the VSK reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation

asum (SV *asu*) *rinann apah* RV SV

vyānaś (KS *apānaś*) *ca me 'sus* (VSK *'su*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

kṛnotu so adhvarāñ (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB AŚ

kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau MŚ *so adhvarā* (AB *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB Nowhere has *adhvara* been recorded as neuter, but this case is well attested and certain VS comm interprets *adhvaran*, TB comm considers the form a loc !

grīṣmo dakṣinah pakṣah (MS *dakṣinam pakṣam*) MS TB TA Followed in MS by *varṣā uttaram* (sc *pakṣam*) MS unmistakably makes *pakṣa* neuter Neither BR nor pw record such a usage, Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited

[*gātum yajñāya gātum* (TA once *gātu gātu*) *yajñapataye* RVKh TS MS ŚB TB TA (both) N But TA Poona ed has only *gātum*, which is doubtless the true reading]

§792 In several cases a masc noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun

nikāyaś (MS KS °*yam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB In this and the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant pāda had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to *chandah*, and that the regular masc form is actually secondary

samudram (VS ŚB °*raś*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

vivadhas chandah VS TS ŚB *vīvadham* (KS °*dhaś*) *chandah* MS KS

yajñas (TA *yajñam*) *tapah* TA MahānU Poona ed of TA has v l *yajñas*, and so the comm reads in both edd

§793 Next words which are regularly or originally, neuter there are several cases of *hārdi*

indrasya hārdy (AV *hārdim*) *āviśan manīṣibhih* (AV *manīṣayā*) RV AV SV

mano me hārdi (VSK *hārd*) *yacha* VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ *mano hārdim yacha* MS MŚ Once (out of three occurrences) the MS p p reads *hārdi*

mā me hārdi tvisā (MŚ *hārdim dvisā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ *mā no hārdi tvisā vadhīh* RV Three mss of MŚ *hārdi*

avakrandena tālu (TS KSA *tālum*) VS TS MS KSA Regularly neuter, occasionally masc, but BR cite no Vedic instance

vatso jarāyu (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣah* AV TS MS KS *jarāyu* is regularly neuter, the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc or fem KS may be thus interpreted, or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us*-stems, cf the next

[*svam* (JB TA *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA °*yur*, Poona ed text °*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss read °*yur*) *gaur iva* AV KS JB TA ApŚ Here the word is accusative, consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us*-stem]

yāni kṣetrāni yā vanā AV *yāni dhanvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāh* with two mss) ApMB *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc in BR , from the Rāmāyana

[*catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādāh* RV VS MS KS GB TA MahānU ApŚ N Conc quotes *śṛṅgās* for GB , but Gaastra reads *śṛṅgā* with all mss , and obviously this is the only possible reading]

§794 In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage

dhartram (TS °*ras*) *catuṣtomah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS

vyomā (TS *vyoma*) *saptadasah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ The regular neut gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc by assimilation to *saptadasah* (*stomah*)

ayam sahasramānavo (so read) *vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ to the subject *ayam*

nāko 'si bradhnah (MŚ *bradhno 'si*) *pratiṣṭhā samkramanam* (ApŚ °*nah*, MŚ °*kramanatamam*) KS ApŚ MŚ No masc *samkramana* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective, but it seems likely that ApŚ assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhnah*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise

§795 We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas

yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhah*) RV SV Both genders in RV

yeṣu saumanaso bahuh (MG *saumanasam mahat*) AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG MG *etı saumanaso bahuh* HG As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc is otherwise known (e g AV 3 30 7) and is clearly primary in this variant

adityā uṣnīṣam ası MS TA ApŚ MŚ *indrānyā uṣnīṣah* VS ŚB Both genders are familiar, probably the neut is primary here

akṣıtıś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS *kuyavam* (MS v 1 *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣıtıś* (VS *'kṣıtam*) *ca me* VS MS KS The word *yava* is masc , and is followed by *kūyava* in TS This stem seems to occur only here except that RV has *kuyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc) Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut)

[*prajananah* (MahānU °*nam*) TA MahānU So Conc , but both edd of TA read *prajanah*, MahānU has vv ll *prajanuh* and *prajananah* Either *prajanah* or *prajananam* must be read, both would be regular]

§796 We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc and neut stems *brahman*, which are properly different words distinguished by shift of accent, in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indistinguishable See VV 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat similar cases considered from the phonetic aspect (*a ā*)

yam (MahānU *yad*) *antah samudre kavayo vayanti* (MahānU *vadanti*) TA MahānU Referring to *brāhman* or *brahman*, even in TA other neuter pronouns occur in the context

rtasya brahma prathamotu jajñe TB *bhūtānām brahmā prathamo ha* (mss °*mota*) *jajñe* AV

tan no brahmā (TAA °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS TAA (not TA !) MahānU

brahma (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā rtasya* PB ApŚ *brahmadevī prathamajā rtasya* JB 2 258 (Caland, PB transl 21 3 7 note)

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS TB AŚ ŚŚ *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB The context is the same and refers to the cow, in ŚB only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple being made fem and the stem *brahman* personal (quasi–fem °) 'she, god-created, has been invoked as Brahmā' VV 2 §460 is incorrect

Feminine and neuter

§797 Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words We begin with words which are usually or originally fem

varṣāś cākṣuṣyaḥ VS ŚB *varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi* TS MS KS The rainy season is meant, the gender is usually fem , but occasionally neut , doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut in the early language, and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut gender

ājyam uktham avyathāyaḥ (TS *avyathayaḥ*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS °*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Instead of *avyathā*, which is to be expected, KS uses an otherwise unknown *avyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut , less likely masc) The same with *praugam uktham, marutvatīyam u°, niṣkevalyam u°, vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc

§798 Due to assimilation to an adjoining word

niṣṭyam (KS °*yā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS This rare name for the constellation *svāti* occurs as *niṣṭyā* in TB (see BR s v) We assume that KS has the 'proper' form and that MS assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next

viśākham (TS °*khe*, KS v l °*khā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS See §752

§799 The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group

tābhir yāsi dūtyām (MS °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV MS *yābhir yāsi dūtyām sūryasya* TB See Pischel *VSt* 1 22 The regular form is *dūtya*, but in this variant, of course, the fem is older

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV AV *aṛṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV

[*idam tava prasarpanam* (JB °*nā*) RV JB † 3 169c Oertel and Caland emend JB to °*nam*, as the gender of *idam* seems to require]

[*ihi tisro 'ti rocanāḥ* TB ApŚ *etu tisro 'ti rocanā* AV So Conc There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y-*, AV p p to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut , which is the regular gender of the word, but the fem adjective *tisro* proves that *rocanāḥ* fem must have been understood]

§800 Due to assimilation

viśo yantre (KS *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS TB ApŚ The word is in appositon with *devī* (dual fem), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS , *yantre* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem **yantrā* as well as from neut *yantra*

pṛthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā TS *udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣṭā* MS KS A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS is rather to be expected (*pura* neut), it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS KS (probably original)

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable, mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svasti* or °*tiḥ*, in which both genders are known

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svastı* (TS °*tih*) AV TS The loss of final visarga is an easy phonetic change (VV 2 §381), and *svastih* occurs just before, even in AV On the other hand TS may have *svastih* by assimilation to this preceding form

kıyāmbv atra rohatu RV *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jāyatām*) AV TA The word is known only here

asyopasadyāni mā chaitsīt ŚB BṛhU *asyopasadye mā rıṣāma* ŚG † 3 7 3c, Kauś *upasadī upasadya*, probably 'worship', neither known elsewhere

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS ŚB : *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °*pāya*, p p °*pāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA (pratīka, °*pāyā* [*iti*], ApŚ MŚ) Stems *paraspa* °*pā*, as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here See §152 In the same passages

prānasya tvā parāspāyai (MS °*pāya*, v l °*pāyāś*, p p °*pāyāh*) *cakṣuṣas* MS TA (pratīka ApŚ) And

divas tvā paraspāyāh (MS °*pāya*) *antarikṣasya* MS TA (pratīka ApŚ)

§802 Apparently due to assimilation

varunasya skambhanam (KS °*ny*) *asi* TS KS MahānU ApŚ Nonce-word, either gender is formally good, KS doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed So in the next, in the same context

varunasya skambhasarjanam (KS °*ny*) *asi* TS MS KS MahānU MŚ *varunasya skambhasarjanī sthah* VS ŚB On the dual see §769

3 Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'

§803 An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine, they may be called 'common gender' forms Thus the acc pl of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly *yuṣmān* without regard to gender But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yuṣmās* is twice used in VS (followed by ŚB) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p 468)

yuṣmān (VS ŚB *yuṣmā*) *indro 'vṛnīta vṛtratūrye* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

śivam āyantam abhy atra yuṣmān (VS ŚB *yuṣmāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§804 Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāśaṅsin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpaḥ*, fem , in a ritual passage *āpo me hotrāśaṅsinyaḥ* (AG °*sinyaḥ*) ŞB ApŚ AG

§805 In the preceding the masculine ('common') form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular Thus stems in the agent suffix *tar* regularly have feminines in *trī* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun *adbhir viśvasya bhartrībhiḥ* ApMB *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhiḥ* as an appositional noun 'the waters, bearers of all'

§806 Yet more anomalously, MS once uses the masculine form *adhipatiḥ* instead of the fem *adhipatnī* referring to Aditi The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc , so that *adhipatiḥ* is properly found in most of them, this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS But all the other texts have the 'proper' fem
aditir adhipatny (MS °*patir*) *āsīt* VS TS MS KS ŚB

4 The indefinite neuter

§807 A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc or fem form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to The masc or fem form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case, such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff and will not be repeated here, they belong, of course, equally in this group —We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing') Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf §§730, 776) —Hirt, *IGGr* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist

§808 Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows.

indrasya (also *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo 'si* (TS ApŚ *dhruvam asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ A knot (*granthi*, m) is addressed, hence masc in most texts 'Thou art Indra's (Viṣnu's) firm one (firm thing, Keith 'fixed point', Caland 'Festes') '

brahmavani tvā kṣatravani rāyaspoṣavani paryūhāmi VS ŚB *brahmavanim tvā kṣatravanim* (TS KS add *rāyaspoṣavanim*) *paryūhāmi* TS MS KS MŚ *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbarī* (sc *sthūnā*), and is fem (cf TS 6 2 10 3, and KŚ 8 5 31) In VS ŚB it is made neuter 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc Mahīdhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for °*vanim* with loss of ending, referring to Pān 7 1 39

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB · *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV The RV original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV , which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhi*

ya (*yas, yah*) *strīnām jīvabhojanah* VS TS KSA ŚŚ *yat strīnām jīvabhojanam* Vait The 'antecedent' is *añjim*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member, it is masc even in Vait which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is '

agnir ekākṣarena (MS KS °*kṣarayā*) *prānam* (MS TS KS *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS ŚB add *tam ujjeṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so *aśvinau dvyakṣarena* (°*kṣarayā*), *viṣnus tryakṣarena* etc , 17 items in same passage With the fems doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied 'with monosyllabic (etc) utterance' The accent (*ék*°) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable') Mahīdhara supplies *chandasā* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite 'with the monosyllabic (thing) '

indrasya vajro si vārtraghnah TS MS KS TB MŚ ApMB *indrasya vārtraghnam asi* VS ŚB Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj school, VS ŚB may understand *dhanus*, yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious')

§809 Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc or fem ·

tad aśvinā paridhattam svasti TS *tam aśvinā paridhattam svasti* (MŚ *svastaye*) KS MŚ The masc refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference

sam tam (KS ApŚ *tat*) *siñcatu rādhase* (KS ApŚ °*sā*) RV KS Vait ApŚ *tam* refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *aṁśu*), this is repeated in KS once with the indefinite neuter *tat* Another KS passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *tat* refers to *chidram*, this is repeated in ApŚ

yām āśām emi kevalī sā me astu AV · *yad vchāmi manasā sakāmah* TB Followed by

videyam enām manasi pravisṭām (TB *enad dhṛdaye niviṣṭam*) AV TB The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB , hence neut for fem in the following pāda

pumāñ enam tanuta ut kṛnatti RV *pumān enad vayaty udgṛnatti* AV 'This' in RV refers to *yajña* in the preceding In AV no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort

yam āśirā (VS *yad āśīrdā*) *dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS TS In VS , 'what good thing', in TS gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained

yad indro apibac chacībhih VS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *yam asyendro apibañ śacībhih* MS Preceded by *yad atra sisṭam* (*riptam*) *rasinah sutasya* The relative is made masc in MS in reference to *sutasya* (m) which immediately precedes Followed by

aham (AB AŚ *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śvena* (MS * *ghṛtena*), same texts

deva savitar etam (LŚ *etat*) *te yajñam prāhur* ŚŚ LŚ *etam te deva savitar yajñam prāhur* VS ŚB The context of LŚ refers to *samidh* (fem), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing')

ya etad (TA MahānU *enam*, MahānU v l *etad*) *vidur* (ŚB BṛhU *ye tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanti* ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU KU ŚvetU 'Those who know this (him, TA comm *paramātman*) '

tad (MŚ *tam*) *aham manase prabravīmi* VSK TB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Vait 'I proclaim this (truth, MŚ him, referring to Savitar) '

kam (KapS *mā kim*) *svid garbham prathamam dadhra* (KapS °*rur*) *āpah* RV VS TS MS KS KapS Raghu Vira em to *kam*, wrongly, Oertel 18 In RV etc *kam* is adjectival to *garbham*, in KapS substantival, 'what (thing)?' On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10 243f

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS KS It seems that *tam* must go with *lokam*, there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS KS The VS has a lect fac , *tad* is the object and refers back to *yad* of the preceding

eṣa (MahānU *etat*) *te kāma* TAA MahānU *kāmaitat te* AV etc The TAA comm supplies *ājyabhāgah*, that on MahānU *havih*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite The formula *kāmaitat te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here In the same passage

eṣa (MahānU *etat*) *te manyo* TAA MahānU

§810 In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' nothing'

ahir jaghāna (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG HG ApMB MG 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing) '

ṛtam nātyeti kim (GG *kaś*) *cana* TB ApŚ MŚ GG

nāmīṣām (TS TB ApŚ *maṛṣām*) *kam canoc chiṣah* RV SV VS TS TB ApŚ *māmīṣām mocī kaś cana* AV *maṛṣām uccheṣī kim cana* AV

nakir (SV *na ki*) *indra tvad uttarah* (SV °*ram*) RV SV AŚ ŚŚ Followed by

na jyāyān (SV *jyāyo*) *astī vṛtrahan* RV SV And

nakir (SV *na ky*) *evā* (SV *evam*) *yathā tvam* RV SV Wackernagel 3 p 562 considers (*na*) *ki* (found only in SV) a mere corruption To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV 's masc , formed on the analogy of the endingless neut nom - acc of *i* stem nouns See also §820 where both *nakir* and RV *nakiṣ* are adverbial

yasmāj jātam na purā kim canaiva VS *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *astī* JB ŚŚ *yasmād anyo na paro astī jātah* PB *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsīt* Vait *yasmān nu jātah paro anyo astī* (*'stī*) VS TB KŚ ApŚ MahānU NṛpU *yasmāt param nāparam astī kim cit* TA MahānU N *tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa* RV TB *yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kim canāsa* TA Only the forms *jātā na parā* of TA need explanation The comm takes them as fem sg , supplying *prajā* But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite)

§811 But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing', sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first

gopāyamānam (KS °*nas*) *ca mā rakṣamānam* (KS °*naś*) *ca gopāyetām* (°*yatām*) KS PG MG 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect ' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc or fem) in all texts except

for this formula in PG MG Parallels in AV 8 1 13 Why PG MG provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear

avasphūrjan (MS KS °*jad*) *hetiḥ* (TS *praheliḥ*, MS KS *dheliḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder' The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects The following one has *vidyut*, perhaps MS KS have adapted the form of *ava*° in an external, mechanical way to the ending (*-t*) of this word But *vidyut* is regularly fem (exceptionally neut according to pw, without quoting any occurrence)

bṛhad (ŚB *mahad*) *dha tasthau bhuvaneṣv antaḥ* RV ŚB AA *bṛhan ha tasthau rajaso vimānaḥ* (JB *vimānaiva*) AV JB Both 'the great one', masc or neut

śukro bṛhan dakṣinayā (TB *bṛhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pipartu* AV TB The comm on TB understands by *bṛhad* the *sāman* of that name That on AV takes *śukro bṛhan* as Sūrya, Whitney, Soma

[*yan* (ŚŚ *yam*) *nah pitā samjānīte* AB ŚŚ Indefinite in both AB 'what (i e the situation which) our father approves' ŚŚ might be interpreted 'whom (whatever person, really thinking of Śunaḥśepa) our father approves' But the ŚŚ comm reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss *yan no 'smākam pitā samjanīte tasminn ādeśe vayam tiṣṭhāmahe*) It seems that *yam* is only a bad writing for *yan*]

Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812 In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter Cf §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826

kā (TS TB *kim*) *svid āsīt pilippilā*,

kā (TS TB *kim*) *svid āsīt piśaṅgilā*,

kā (TS TB ApŚ *kim*) *svid asīt pūrvacittiḥ*, all VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB, the last in ApŚ

kah (VS *kim*) *svit pṛthivyai varṣīyān* (VS °*yah*) VS AŚ ŚŚ The answer expected is 'Indra', hence masc *kah* in most texts

5 Adverbial forms

§813 Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs, it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which

makes it the favorite form of adverbs When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun, altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs Among the variants we find distinctively fem as well as neut adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs

§814 We begin with the rare instances of fem adverbs varying with masc adjectives

ud enam uttaram (VS TS KS ŚB °*rām*) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ

divaś cid antād upamām (TA † *upa mām*, RV *antān upamān*) *udānaṭ* RV AV SV TA Whitney adopts the v l *upa mām* for AV Benfey takes *upamām* as an adverb See §495

§815 Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives

āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvāṅ (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvāṅ*) RV AV MS TB N

yuktva (so Poona ed of TB for *yuktā* Conc) *harī vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvāṅ* (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvāṅ*, KS ms *arvāṭ*, ed *arvāk*) RV MS KS TB

prāṅ (VS TB *prāṅk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prāṅ*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK MS ŚB TB ApŚ

pratyak (p p *pratyaṅ*) *somo atisrutah* MS *pratyaṅ* (VS TS MS † ŚB * TB *pratyaṅk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS * †10 31b, MS *atisrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ

etat tvā deva savitar vṛṇate ŚB *deva savitar etam tvā vṛṇate* AŚ ŚŚ N

tam u tvam (SV *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV SV Preceded by *yad dha tyam māyinam mṛgam* SV 's *tyan* can only be construed as an adverb It is due in some part to the preceding *tyam*

tam idam (ApMB *imam*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV AV ApMB 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee' *idam* is an adverb, ApMB makes it into a pronoun agreeing with *tam*

svasti nah pūrṇamukhah pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG See §404

ava tara (TS *avattaram*, MS p p *avataram*, AV *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV *nadīnām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* is apparently an adverb See §404

tad āsata ṛṣayah sapta sākam AV *tasyāsata ṛṣayah* (TS TAA °*āsate harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB BrhU TAA *tad* seems to be adverbial

aśvinendram na jāgṛvi (TB °*vī*) VS MS TB See §762

tam tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh saha yan me 'sti tena AV *tam* (KS † *tat*) *tvendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ *praviśāni*) *saguh saha yan me 'sti* (*asti*) *tena* KS ApŚ *tat* in KS adverbial

viṣvak patantu didyavah RV *viṣvañco asmac charavah patantu* AV

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *śuci* may be an adverb, but cf VV 2 §381

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhayai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA Perhaps bad writing (*tan* for *tam*)

tan (JB *tam*) *mā punsi kartary erayadhvam* JB KBU As prec

somah prathamo vivide RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jayā prathamam* AV 'Soma was the first to marry thee' 'thou wast Soma's wife first'

ye 'do (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB *vāmī*) *rocane divah* RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB *ye camī rocane divi* NilarU *adas* adverb, 'there'

§816 A special group under this heading may be formed of the variants involving the pronominal neuter *yad*, used as a conjunction, in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun

arundhatīm ye (ApMB *yad*) *dhruvatam ha ninyuh* ApMB HG '(The ṛṣis) who have led' 'since (the ṛṣis) have led'

toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (and *yam*) *apsu* RV (both)

nava yat puro navatim ca sadyah RV AV *nava yo navatim purah* RV AV SV

pūrvo yat (MŚ *yah*) *sann aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ MŚ

pra ye (SV *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrnayah* RV SV

yad (MŚ *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānaih* VS TS KS ŚB TB MŚ

ya (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad*) *ṛte* (PB † *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣah* RV AV SV TB TA KŚ MŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB GG

yena tvābadhnat (KŚ *mā*°, TS ApMB *yam abadhnita*, MŚ MG *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG

viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāh (KS *vimana yo vyomā*, MS *vimame yo vihāyāh*, TS *manasā yad vihayāh*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N

yad (SV *yo*) *devasya śavasā prārināh* RV SV

yad agne kavyavahanā TS TB ApŚ *yo agnih kravyavāhanah* (VS KS *kavya*°) RV VS KS AŚ

yad (LŚ *yam*) *devāso lalāmagum* AV VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ

anu yam viśve madanty (AV * *anu yad enam madanti* †*viśva*) *ūmāh* RV AV (both) SV VS AA ApŚ MŚ N

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB ApŚ *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajra-hasta* (TB °*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB

viprā ṭgātham gāyata yaj juṣoṣati (AA °*ṣat*) AA ŚŚ *viprāya ṭgātham gāyata yam juṣoṣate* SV

§817 Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs The first case involves the conjunction *yad*, as in the last paragraph

andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA °*tāsi*) AV TA 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness'

yajñasya jihvām avidāma guhyām (MG *guhyam*) RV TS MS KS 'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice'

viśvair devair anumatā (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhiḥ* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The original fem adjective applies to *sītā* 'furrow' In TA it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc (§849) In KS the connexion is the same, and the neut must be taken as an adverb

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG MDh *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ See §404

asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV KauŚ See §623

achidrām tvāchidrena juṣṭam (KS °*tām*, v l °*tam*) *gṛhnāmi* MS KS ApŚ The fems refer to *surā* Caland on ApŚ would read *juṣṭam* (adverb) in KS, and since the best ms reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right But *juṣṭām* as fem adjective would be equally construable

§818 And once a fem noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly' See §487

§819 Neuter adjective varying with fem adverb

upamam (SV °*mām*) *devatātaye* RV SV *upamam* goes with *śavaḥ* preceding, *upamām* must be an adverb

§820 In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial The only clear case of masc -neut variation here concerns the Rigvedic *nakiṣ*, formally a nom sing masc, but sometimes used adverbially, twice in the same verse SV replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above

nakiṣ (SV Svidh *na ki*) *devā minīmasi* (SV Svidh *inī*°) RV SV Svidh *nakiṣ* (SV *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV SV

§821 Once, also, SV substitutes *nakiḥ* for RV (*nū*) *cit*

nū cit (SV *nakiḥ*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV SV

§822 We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc - neut variation with the forms *kam kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc sg masc of the stem *ka*

prajāyai kam (AV *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛṇīta* RV AV

§823 As to fem -neut variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *pratarām* and °*ram* (once *samtaram* °*ram*)

pra tāry agne prataram na āyuh RV MS KS ApŚ *prātāry agne pratarām na āyuh* TS

jīvatave prataram (SV SMB °*rām*) *sādhayā dhiyah* RV SV SMB

indremam prataram (VS TS ŚB °*rām*) *kṛdhi* (*naya*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA † °*ram*, MG *pratiram*) *dadhanāh* (AV **te dadhāmi*) RV AV (ter) TA AG MG *āyur dadhānāh prataram navīyah* AV

sāmrājyaya prataram (ApŚ °*ram*) *dadhanah* RV KS ApŚ MŚ

adhi kṣami prataram dīdhyānah RV AV *asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdyānah* SV

pra tam (RV * *no*) *naya prataram* (TS ApMB °*rām*) *vasyo acha* RV (bis) VS TS MS KS ApMB

samśitam cit samtaram (VS TS KS °*rām*) *sam śisadhi* AV VS TS MS KS

§824 Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here, cf VV 2 §505

svamkṛto 'si KS *svāmkṛto si* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

6 Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825 Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns, or else they may be masc if the series includes both masc and fem nouns

tas (ApMB *te*) *tvā vadhu prajāvatīm* AV ApMB Preceded by *yā oṣadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṣetrani ya vana* (ApMB *yani dhanvāni ye vanah*, so read) In AV *tās* follows the gender of the fems of the first pāda, in ApMB *te* follows that of the nearest noun, *vanah* (on which see §793), or is masc as including both masc and fem (see next)

rohit kurudṛnāvī golalitā tā apsarasām (VS *te 'psarasām*) VS TS MS KSA Since *rohit* is regularly fem , the fem pronoun is expected (with only fem nouns) The masc of VS is apparently due to

taking *rohit* as masc (so VS comm), with a series including masc and fem nouns, a masc pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram* p 500)

7 Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826 When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantive pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf §812)

namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttarah pakṣah LŚ *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah pakṣah* AA *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta uttarah pakṣah* ŚŚ *bṛhat* means the sāman of that name Similarly *namas te rathamtarāya* (*rātham°*) , and *namas te vāmadevyāya* (*rājanāya*) , see Conc

(*yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat phalam tat*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* AV (*yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva* HG (*yadi vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva* ApMB The neuter *tad* of ApMB HG refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc predicate *vāyur* The masc *sa* of AV is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apām stokah* of the preceding verse may also have been influential

striyah satīs tān (TA *tā*) *u me punsa āhuh* RV AV TA N 'Those that are women, they declared to me to be men' The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate, TA changes it to agree with the antecedent

§827 Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agni, so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA , the text which makes this agreement

sampriyah paśubhir bhava (TB ApŚ *bhuvat*, KS *°yah paśubhih*) MS KS TB ApŚ *sampriyam prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA Subject is Agni in all, the formula *purīṣam asi* precedes in TA and KS , and follows in MS

8 Compound nouns

§828 On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751 Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*, for the masc or neut gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p 40 Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem (which gender the word has at least in VS 14 30)
ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB

§829 Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies Thus
ayakṣmayā (KS °*mena*) *pari bhuja* VS TS MS KS NīlarU Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mūdhuṣṭama, haste babhūva te dhanuh, tayāsmān viśvatas tvam* (with slight variants) Since KS has fem *tayā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut *ayakṣmena* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhāraya, 'with non-disease'
pīvoannān (VS °*nā*, MS °*nam*, p p °*nān*) *rayivṛdhah sumedhāh* RV VS MS AB TB AŚ ApŚ All texts but VS intend *pīvoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food ' Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc masc is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc pl neut 'he seeks rich foods '
tatrāpi dahre (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam viśokah* (TA Poona ed °*kam*, v l °*kah*) TA MahānU *viśokah* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *viśokam* 'free from grief'

9 Nom agentis (masc) nom actionis (fem or neut)

§830 Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc) or a noun of action (neut or fem according to formation)
eṣa vas tadvivācanah ŚŚ *eṣa vah sadvivācanam* AB Comm on AB paraphrases by *adhyāpanam* and supplies *karisyati* Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right ' ŚŚ, ' instructor in that '
sā (MS *yā*) *prathamā samiskṛtir viśvavārā* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB *sa prathamah samkṛtir viśvakarmā* TS TB ApŚ The latter make a noun of agent out of *samkṛti*

10 Substitution of one noun for another

§831 Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same Thus, as between masc and fem

avasṛṣṭā (TB ApŚ °*tah*) *parā pata* RV AV SV VS TS TB Vait ApŚ AG Followed by

śaravye brahmasaṁśite (TS °*tā*) RV AV SV VS TS *śaro brahmasaṁśitah* TB ApŚ For *śaravya* TB ApŚ substitute the synonym *śara*

ūrvam gavyam parisadanto aymam RV KS ('surrounding it they penetrated into the prison-cave of the kine') *urvīm gavyām parisadam no akran* AV (a far-reaching Verballhornung, Whitney, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine')

girah pravartamānakah RV *girer avacarantikā* AV Preceded by *kusumbhakas tad abravīt* RV, *karnā svavit tad abravīt* AV The fem gender of *śvāvidh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the dictionaries

§832 As between masc and neut

yam (AV TS ApŚ *yat*) *te devī nirṛtir ā babandha,*

pāśam (AV TS *dāma*) *grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS ŚB *avicṛtyam*, AV *avimokyam yat*),

tam te (AV *tat te*, TS *idam te tad*) *vi syāmy āyuṣo na madhyat* (MS KS *nu madhye*, AV *āyuṣe varcase balāya*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB, and the first in ApŚ MŚ Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc and *dāman* neut

§833 As between fem and neut

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrasyāya* MG The latter has a far-reaching reconstruction, *idam* agrees with *strīpautram*

§834 These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough More dubious are some cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all A simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the late RV hymn 6 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters' (arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem, for which MS substitutes 'of many sons', *bahūnām* masc (no one would want many daughters!)

bahvīnām (MS *bahūnām*) *pitā bahur asya putrah* RV VS TS MS KSA ApŚ

§835 In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are in one or both cases often uncertain Masculine and feminine

tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe RV VS *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV The AV 6 15 1a repeats RV 10 97 23 with change of gender, apparently referring to an unnamed plant with masc name (according to the comm, *palāśa*, but Kauś uses barley)

[*aśi dhanveva tān iti* RV AV SV VS *dadhanveva tā iti* TA *nidhanveva tān iti* TA The TA repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem , which seems to us to make no possible sense We believe that it has merely lost final *n* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added]

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS *viśiśniyānām*) MS KS *teṣām viśipriyānām* (VS ŚB °*nām vo 'ham*) VS TS ŚB Preceded in same verse by *yās* (TS *yeṣām*) *tisrah paramajāh* (MS *prathamajāh*) Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem , yet note *tisrah* even in TS (The TS comm supplies *prakṛtayah*) Keith ignores the point Perhaps a fem synonym of *graha*, such as *āsuti*, is understood

jīvam (ApMB *jīvīm*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV °*ram*) RV AV ApMB In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite, see Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411 ff , Oldenberg *Noten* on 10 40 10 The fem of ApMB surely means the bride, it is still problematic who is meant by *jīvam*

emām (ŚG *enam*) *kumāras taruṇah* AV ŚG , and

emām parisrutah kumbhah AV *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG The fems refer either to the house (*śālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūnā*), the masc apparently to the latter under its name *sthūnārāja*

utemam pasya MS MŚ *utemāh pasya* TS See §740

asyai (TS *asmai*) *sam datta vīryam* (TS *bheṣajam*) RV VS TS *asyai* refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the yajamāna, to whom TS refers directly with *asmai*

śivebhir (AV VSK TS * *śivābhir*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (*vṛdhe*) RV AV VS VSK TS (both) MS KS TB The masc agrees with *pāyubhih* in the preceding in some texts, in others some such masc (or neut ?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefiiute, quasi-adverbial neuter With the fem the AV comm supplies *ūtibhih*, it might however be considered adverbial

anu manyatām anumanyamānah (TS °*mānā*) AV TS And

tasya (TS *tasyai*) *vayam hedasi māpi bhūma* AV TS These two pādas occur in a hymn addressed to Anumati, to whom the fems refer, the masc forms of AV are well attested but we can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note)

viśā (MS *vy*) *amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS °*ṣebhyah*, MS °*ṣānām*) AV MS KS See §573

sam eta †viśve vacasā (SV *viśvā ojasā*) *patim divah* AV SV By *viśve*

AV undoubtedly means 'all men' Benfey suggests either that *viśvā(h)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc , or else that *stutayah* is to be supplied with it Ppp is reported by Roth as reading *viśvā*

[*anābho mṛda dhūrta* (MS *dhūrte*, v l °*ta*) MS MŚ · (*qnārbhava mṛda*) *dhūrta* (KS °*te*) *namas te astu* (*'stu*) KS ApŚ Knauer on MŚ would read *dhūrta* also in MS Rudra is addressed and no voc fem seems possible, if a voc form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta* But *dhūrte* occurs in KS , KapS (4 6 45 1, see Oertel 101), and in two mss and p p of MS The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect fac Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, dat sg or loc sg]

[*mānasya patni śaranā syonā* AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG. Followed by

[*devī devebhir nimitāsy agre* AV *devo devebhir vimitāsy agre* HG The fems *vimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG , Oldenberg adopts the AV readings]

§836 A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc) to the individuals which compose the collectivity Cf §715

indra āsām (AV MS KS *eṣām*) *netā bṛhaspatih* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS The fem pronoun refers to *senāh* 'armies', in the context, the masc to the men who compose them

yuvam tān (SV *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV SV As in prec , here *senā* sing

āmūr aja pratyāvartayemāh RV VS TS MS KSA *prāmūn jayābhīme jayantu* AV The original *amūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner) Whitney takes the AV form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies, but p p *amūm* (comm *śatrusenām*)

nama āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyaś (KS *vividhyadbhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā* plu , the masc of KS to the individual members

§837 Masculine and neuter

māteva putram bibhṛtāpsv enat (MS *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS KS *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The neut refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context), the masc apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan

vardhamāno (TS °*nam*) *mahān* (TS MS *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °*ram*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The half-verse accompanying this one in VS 11 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puṣkara* or *puṣkaraparna*, both neut) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni Our pāda is followed by *divo mātrayā varimnā* (*varimnā*) *prathasva* Mahīdhara on VS thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed In VS 13 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse TS uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse

ya enad veda sa id enad (AV *enam*) *arhati* RVKh AV The neut refers to *hiranyam*, the masc apparently to an unexpressed *manı* or some masc name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 669)

svasty uttarān (MS MŚ °*ran*, TS ApŚ °*rāny*) *asīya* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Used in the shaving ceremony, the neut we take to refer to *śmaśrūnı*, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm and Keith) The masc pl (intended also in MS MŚ) may refer to *keśān*, it is hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests

devaśrud ımān (sc *keśān*) *pravape* MS MŚ *devaśrūr etānı* (sc *śmaśrūnı*) *pravape* TS HG As prec

[*viso* (SV *dıso*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Followed by *s*-, doubtless phonetic corruption in TB, cf VV 2 §381]

[*samśitam kṣatram jışnu* (Ppp MS KS TA *kṣatram me jışnu*, AV *kṣatram ajaram astu jışnuh*) AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *jışnuh* can only be a blunder, VV 2 §381]

§838 Feminine and neuter

gāthayaıtı parişkṛtam (AV °*tā*) RV AV See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 85 6 Apparently the neut refers to Sūryā's garment (*vāsah*) AV makes the fem refer to Sūryā

havış (*havih*) *kṛnvantah parivatsarīnam* (MG °*rīyam*, HG † SMB † °*rīnām*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG Both Kirste and Jorgensen confess inability to interpret the fem, and we can do no better But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange

[*ya ābabhūva* (PB *āva*°) *bhuvanānı viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!) VS PB JB ŚŚ Vait *viśvāh* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381), the comm has *viśvānı*]

§839 Masculine, feminine, and neuter

ūrnamradasam (*ūrnā*°) *tvā stṛnāmi* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*, Kauś

ūrnamradam prathasva) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyah* VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ Masc in TS TB ApŚ (applying to *prastara*), fem in VS ŚB (to *vedi*), neut in KS Kauś (to *barhis*?)

11 Transfer of epithet

§840 The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case, these will not be repeated here Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms

ūdāno (KS °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS °*nim*) *namasā* AV VS VSK TS MS KS See §399

añgāny ahrutā yasya (TS and vikāra of ŚB *yasyai*) VS TS KS ŚB Followed by *tam mātrā* (KS *tam devās*, TS and vikāra of ŚB *tām devaih*) *sam ajīgapam* (KS *acīklpan*) The masc (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (*garbha*) of the cow, the vikāra of ŚB contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782) TS , on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns)

tad agnir anumanyatām ayam (PG *iyam svāhā*) PG HG The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni, *iyam* is difficult, Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion, Oldenberg renders by 'N N ', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom), the comm on PG makes *iyam* agree with *svāhā* as n pr , 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort) '

dvāro devīr anv aya viśve (MS KS *viśvāh*) AV VS TS MS KS The masc *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*, in MS KS it becomes an epithet of the latter

tām tvam svadhām tais sahopa jīva ApMB *tam svadhām akşitam taih sahopajīvāsau* HG Most likely HG is original 'upon that (wave, *ūrmi*, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these ' ApMB makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*

kasmai (KS *tasmai*) *deva vaşad astu tubhyam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB *tasmai ca devi vaşad* TS The voc masc refers to Prajāpati (or

'Ka'), the fem of TS to Pṛthivī (denoted by *uttānāyai* in the preceding)

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TS AŚ ApŚ . *garbham sravantīm agadām akarma* ApŚ *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ MŚ The masc forms go with *garbha*, the fems with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed)

apāsya ye †sināh pāśāh KS ApŚ *apāsyāh satvanah pāśān* Kauś The fem refers to Nirṛti, preceding, the masc apparently to the yajamāna

indrena dattam prayatam (TS *dattām prayatām*) *marudbhih* TS MS KS Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS *nābhim*) The masc pples agree with the last word, the fems with *dhārām*

mā hinsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB 'Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds' 'let them not injure the procession and her (the bride) that is being carried off'

§841 In some of the above the 'epithet' is in one form more or less independent, in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an 'epithet' of another word at all (cf §15)

pratyaññ ud eṣi mānuṣān (AV * °*ṣīh*) RV AV (both) ArS N Preceded by *pratyañ devānām viśah* The RV *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men', in AV sc *viśah*

mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣībhir arcinah (TB *taviṣebhir ūrmibhih*) RV TB The orig *taviṣībhih* is apparently a noun, 'with might', TB feels that a form of the adjective *taviṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhih*, perhaps recollecting RV 6 61 2

§842 Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter

anāptā yā (AV *ye*) *vah prathamā* (AV p p °*māh*) AV KS ApŚ See §552, end

eṣa vasūni pibdanā (SV °*nah*) RV SV The adj is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma)

śambhu mayobhu (TB TA *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *no hṛde* RV SV TB TA Kauś N Preceded by *vāta āvātu bheṣajam*, the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātah*

asmin have puruhūtah purukṣuh (AV TS °*kṣu*) RV AV Ppp TS KS Preceded by *uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat* (*yachatu*) Transfer from *mahiṣah* to *śarma*

kakubham (*kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (*rūpam ṛṣ*°) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB In VSK *bṛhan* goes with *somah* following

codad rādha upastutaś (ArS °*tam*) *cid arvāk* RV AV ArS MS TB
The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas*

tad ayam (MG *idam*) *rājā varuno 'numanyatām* AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG In MG *idam* (with *tad*) replaces *ayam* (with *rājā varuno*)

vīduharās tapa ugro (AV *ugram*) *mayobhūh* RV AV

matsvā sušipra (SV °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV *tam*) *īmahe* RV SV. 'We wish that' 'we pray to [thee] here'

yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV °*hih*, MŚ °*hi*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ The original *sāsahah* is a verb form, in SV it becomes an adjective epithet of the subject 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in battles' In MŚ this adjective is made to go with the preceding *manas*

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most mss *svarārakṣānah*) *svāhā* (MG omits) AG PG MG In MG the first word is attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtam bhavişyad uta bhadram astu me*), in the others it goes with the 1st person subject

dhṛṣānam (AV °*no*, but Whitney translates °*nam*, AA *dādhṛṣānam*) *dhṛṣitam* (AV °*tah*, but Whitney translates °*tam*) *śavah* AV AA ŚŚ † The masc forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the subject of the preceding pāda, instead of to *śavah* The passage is very troublesome

§843 In the next (cf §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an independent word, *amṛto* modifies *panthā*(*h*), but MS uses *amṛtam* as an independent noun, 'nectar'

prānasya panthā amṛto (MS °*tam*) *grahābhyām* VS MS KS TB

§844 Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter

upasthāšānām mitravad astv ojah TS MS AŚ *upasthāšā mitravatūdam ojah* KS In KS *mitra*° agrees with *āšā*, in the others with *ojah*

tebhir mā (ApŚ *tābhir no*, ApMB *tābhiş tvā*) *devah savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ ApMB Preceded by *šatam pavitrā vitatā hy* (MS *vitatāny*) *āsu* (šc *apsu*) The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS, in the others to *āsu* (*apsu*)

§845 The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15), but the reconstruction of the secondary ApMB is very sweeping It means 'shine thou for my foot-water (*padya*, neut)' In the original, *padyā* is used as an epithet of the noun Virāj

mayi dohah padyāyai virājah (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi padyāyai virājo dohah* ŚG ŚŚ PG *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB

12 Phrase inflection

§846 In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signalizes the adaptation of old material to a new context Sometimes several pādas, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted For example, the Rigveda itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman's charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man's charm for dominion and victory The two verses are practically identical throuout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other Hence the variants

asapatnā (RV also °*nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB , followed unmediately in both RV and ApMB by

asapatnah sapatnahā RV AV *asapatnā sapatnaghnī* RV ApMB

§847 Such a variation may properly be called a vikāra in the technical sense Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical vikāras or ūhas, often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mitrāvarunau*, masc , and once to (*dyauh* and) *prthivī*, fem

jarāmṛtyum kṛnutām samvidānau (and °*ne*) AV (both)

§848 We find the following variants of this sort, first some in which all three genders appear

vānaspatyo 'si PB ApŚ MŚ AG *vānaspatyam asi* KS *vānaspatyāsi* MS ApŚ MŚ

jāgatam asi MS TA ApŚ *jāgatāsi* MS *jāgato 'si* MS MŚ Also *gāyatram asi, gāyatro 'si, gāyatry asi, traiṣṭubho 'si, °bham asi*

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS See §727

§849 Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur

tṛpto 'ham MS KS MŚ *tṛptāham* (v l *tṛpto 'ham*) MŚ In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*, it is a simple ūha of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v l with masc

tās te (TS MŚ *te nah*) *kṛnvantu bheṣajam* RV AV TS MŚ PG Different contexts, perhaps not true variants

agnim kulāyam abhisamviśantīh (ApŚ °*vasānāh*) MS ApŚ *agnim gṛhapatim abhisamvasānāh* TB ApŚ The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāh* and *paśavah*

aido me bhagavo 'janiṣṭhā maitrāvarunah MS *aidī me bhagavaty ajaniṣṭhā maitrāvarunī* MS Ūhas, followed by the respective directions. *itı pumānsam jātam abhimantrayeta*, and *itı strıyam jātam abhi°* In the same passages the next four

citrā citram (and *citrām*) *asūt* MS ,

citrāś citrā (and °*rān*) *asuvan* MŚ ,

punyā punyam (MS * *punyām*) *asūt* MS MŚ ,

punyāh punyā (and °*yān*) *asuvan* MŚ

jyotır viśvasmaı bhuvanāya kṛnvatī (and *kṛnvan*) RV (both) To Uṣas and Savitar respectively

tam (KS * *tām*) *agne hedah parı te vrnaktu* VS TS MS KS (both) ŚB To Agni and *māyā*, in adjoining stanzas in KS , the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām* KS has allowed one stanza to influence the other

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) AV MS KS *tasya te vayam bhūyisthabhājo bhūyāsma* ApŚ *tasyās te bhakṣivānah syāma* (MS KS ApŚ †* *bhaktivano bhuyāsma*, AŚ *bhāgam asīmahi*) MS KS TB ApŚ (bis) AŚ Different contexts

tāns te paridadāmy aham ApŚ *tām te paridadāmy aham* (TA °*dadāmi*) TA ApŚ

trır ā divo vidathe patyamānah (and °*mānāh*) RV (both)

tvastrmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣtrı*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣtrīmatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭī*°, so also TA Poona ed with v l *tvaṣtrī*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ The fem subject is the patnī, see §725

parı tmanā vışurūpo jigāsi (and °*rūpā jigāti*) RV (both)

visvair devair anumatā (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhih* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Different context in TA , on KS see §817

indraya somam suṣutam bharantah (and °*tīh*) RV (both)

asmeva tvam sthirā (Ppp MG ApMB * HG † *[1 4 1b] *sthiro*) *bhava* Ppp (for AV *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB HG MG The fem to the bride, the masc in different context to a boy

parı dhatta dhatta no varcasemam AV *parı dhatta dhatta vāsasaınām* (HG ApMB °*nam*) SMB HG ApMB As prec

śatāyuṣam (SMB °*ṣīm*) *kṛnuta dīrgham āyuh* SMB ApMB HG As prec

āyuṣmatīdam parı dhatsva vāsah AV SMB PG MG *āyuṣmann idam* MG *āyuṣmān idam* ApMB HG As prec

upahūto 'yam yajamānah ( ) TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *upahūteyam yajamānā* TB The whole of the second passage in TB is a vikāra of the other It contains the next six

dvye dhāmann (°*many*) *upahūtah* (TB • °*hūtā*) TS MS TB • *ultarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtah* (TB • °*tā*) TS ŚB TB

tasminn upahūtah (TB • °*tā*) MS TB AŚ ŚŚ

upahūto bhūyasi havişkarane (*havihk*°) MS AŚ ŚŚ · *bhūyasi havişkarana upahūtah* (TB • °*tā*) TS † 2 6 7 5, TB (bis) ŚB

viśvasya priyasyopahūtasyopahūtah (and °*tā*) TB (both)

viśvam asya (TB • *asyāh*) *priyam upahūtam* TS TB (both)

vŗşāsi vŗşnyāvan (Kauś °*vati*) AV † Kauś † Different contexts, tho both in rites for virile power, AV addresses the man concerned, Kauś the magic herb

vrām vahanto (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahantī*) *ghrtam ukşamānāh* AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG ApMB MG *vrām vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG See §739

vśānam vāryānām RV AV SV TS MS KS JB *vśānā* (sc *āpah*) *vāryānām* RV AV MS TB TA

mayi puşţim (AV *puştam*) †*puşţipatir* (AV *puşţa*°) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadātu*) AV MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB *mayi puşţim puşţipatnī dadhātu* KS The latter in a different context

yatamānā (and °*no*) *raśmibhih sūryasya* RV (both)

rākāyā aham devayajyayā prajāvān (and °*vatī*) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ (both) Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining passages In the same the following

sinīvālyā aham devayajyayā paśumān (°*matī*) *bhūyāsam*, and *kuhvā aham devayajyayā puşţimān pasumān* (*puşţimatī pasumatī*) *bhū*"

rodena krnvatīr (°*vaty*, °*vanto*) *agham* AV (ter)

vişūcīn (and *vişvañcam*) *vi vrhāmasi* AV (both)

śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB ApŚ

samvatsarasya şaşthah (TS • KS • *şaşthī*) TS KSA Both in a series of formulas, with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, in) of the shoulder are offered, with the fems various ribs (*vaṅkri*)

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v l *cāyyo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (*bhrjāsi*, *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG ApMB See §334

sa cakarārasam (and *sā cakarthārasam*) *vişam* AV (both)

sa jīva śaradah śatam ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG N Mbh *sā jīva śaradaś śatam* ApMB An ūha

samjagmāno abibhyuşā RV AV SV N *samjagmānā abibhyuşīh* (MS *avihrutāh*) AV MS

sa (and *sā*) *no viśvā ati dvişah* RV (both)

sā (HG *sa*) *mām ā vrśatād iha* (MG *vrśatām ihaiva*) ApMB HG MG, and RVKh Scheftelowitz 10 151 3d

sa (and *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ *suvīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (both in all texts) Ūhas, in same passages

sumṛḍīkāṅ abhiṣṭaye RV TS MS · *sumṛḍīkām abhi°* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

yasmād bhūtā (*bhūto*) *niṣīdasi* MŚ (both)

yantā rāṭ TS KSA TB *yantrī rāṭ* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ And, in same passages

yantāsi yamanah VS TS KS KSA ŚB TB *yantry asi yamanī* (TS *yamitrī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

sa (AV *sā*) *nah sarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV *ni yachāt*) RV AV MS KS TB ApŚ

ūrdhvām enām (VS * ŚB * LŚ * *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (*chrāpaya*) VS * TS MS KSA ŚB * TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ * ApŚ In same passages the next

athāsyai (TS MS TB °*syā*, KSA *adhāsya*, VS * LŚ * *athāsya*) *madhyam edhatām* (*edhatu*, *ejatu*, *ejati*) VS * TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ *

ut tiṣṭha (VS ŚB KŚ *utthāya*) *bṛhatī* (TA *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MŚ Followed by

ūrdhvā (TA °*vas*, VS ŚB *ud u*) *tiṣṭha dhruvā* (TA °*vas*) *tvam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

yamena tvam yamyā samvidānā (TA * °*nah*) VS TS † MS KS † ŚB TA (bis) The fem of all but TA applies to Nirṛti In the two TA passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed, the form should according to the sense be masc both times Yet once TA reads *samvidānottamam* (combining with *uttamam*, first word of the next pāda), for which the comm says *samvidānā samvidāna aikamatyam prāptah* Here we must either understand *samvidānah* with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts

amṛtā martyebhyah RV *amṛtam martyābhyah* TB ApŚ

soruh satī na nivartate TA *uruh san na nivartate* TA Ūhas, in adjoining passages

anisitāsi sapatnakṣit VS . *anisitāh* (KS ApŚ add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīh* MS KS ApŚ *anisito 'si sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV The next is in the same passage

uttham śreyo manyamānedam āgamam AV *idam śreyo manyamāno vā āgām* MS

ugraś ca bhīmaś ca VS MS MŚ *ugrā ca bhīmā ca* TA

apadyamānaḥ pṛthivyām TA ApŚ *apadyamānā ṭpṛthivīṃ* TS ApŚ *avyathamānā pṛthivyām* (MS v l °*vī*) VS MS KS ŚB

adharācīḥ (AV *adharāñcam*) *parā suva* AV VS MS KS

āśāsānā (TS * ApŚ * MŚ * °*naḥ*) *saumanasam* (TS * ApŚ * *suvīryam*) AV TS * KS TB Vait ApŚ * MŚ * ApMB

edhamānaḥ (Kauś °*nāḥ*, ApMB °*na*) *svagṛhe* (Kauś *sve gṛhe*, ApMB *sve vaśe*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś ApMB *edhamānā sve gṛhe* (HG *vaśe*) ApMB HG On the m (sg or pl) see §725 The fem is used in a different context

niveśanī saṃgamanī vasūnām TS *niveśanaḥ saṃgamano vasūnām* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *rāyo budhnaḥ saṃgamano vasūnām* RV

adhīr achinnapatrā priyā (and *achinnapatraḥ priyo*) *devānām* KS (both) Ūhas, in same passage

etā u tyāḥ praty adṛśran purastāt RV *eta u tye praty adṛśran* RV

sā (AB *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (and the like) KS AB JUB ŚB BṛhU AG ŚG PG ApMB MG The fem (original) refers to the bride, the masc to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled to that of wife to husband In the same passages

amo 'ham asmi sā (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB etc *amūham asmi sā tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG

*svāsastha*ḥ (TS °*sthā*) *tanuvā saṃviśasva* TS TB ApŚ

asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ (Kauś °*naḥ*, MS *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV MS Kauś Originally referring to cows, used in Kauś in a new context, referring to *gṛhāḥ*

§850 Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter

tasmin ma etat suhutam astu prāśitram GB Vait *tasmin ma eṣa suhuto 'stv odanaḥ* Kauś As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to different contexts Followed by

tan (Kauś *sa*) *mā mā hiṃsīt parame vyoman* GB Vait Kauś

anādhṛṣṭāsa (ŚŚ °*ṭāny*) *ojasā* RV ŚŚ

bārhaspatyam asi MŚ *bārhaspatyo 'si* PB

vājī tvā ApŚ MŚ *vājinam tvā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

ado yad avadhāvaṭi AV *ado* (adverb) *giribhyo adhi yat* (conjunction) *pradhāvasi* TB *asau yo 'vasarpaṭi* VS TS MS KS *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvaṭi* HG ApMB Diff contexts, hardly variants

amṛtam asi VS TS MS etc *amṛto 'si* SMB Hardly variants

ghṛtād ulluptam madhumat suvarnam (AV *madhunā samaktam*) RVKh AV *ghṛtād ullupto madhumān payasvān* AV In this and the

next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse, the masc words refer to an amulet of *darbha*-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called *trivṛt*, neut

bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ AV *bhūmidṛṁhaṃ acyutaṃ pārayiṣṇu* AV *dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh See prec and next

bhindat (AV * *nudan*, RVKh *ṛṇak*, 10 128 10) *sapatnān adharāṁś ca kṛṇvat* (AV * *kṛṇvan*), same (see prec)

akṣitam asi mā pitṝnām ApMB HG BDh *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā* TS GB Vait MŚ Cf *akṣitir asi ma* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ

taj (RV *tā*, see §727) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *tam juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV

tad asman pātu viśvataḥ AV *so asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV *so asmān sarvataḥ pātu* AV

tat te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcase balāya AV *tam te badhnami jarase svastaye* AV *tam te badhnāmy ayuṣe* (and *āyuṣe varcase*) AV

tena (and *taiś*) *tvam garbhiṇi bhava* HG (both) *tena* is masc (*garbha*), *taiś* neut (*vīryāṇi*)

viṣūcīnan (VSK °*na*) *vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Diff context in VSK

satyam (RV °*yaś*) *citraśravastamam* (RV °*mah*) RV TS KS

§851 Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter

sam asya (Kauś *asyai*) *tanvā* (*tanuva*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Kaus

na vi jānāmi (AB *jananti*) *yatarat* (AV °*ra*) *paraśtat* AV AB JB

viṣṭhitaḥ (AV °*ta*) *pṛthivīm anu* RV AV VS AB TB SMB

taya (and *tena*) *sapatnān pari vṛndhi ye mama* AV (both) Modulations, in the same hymn

pṛthivyā adhy udbhṛtam (and °*ta*) AV (both)

subhagamkaranī mama AV *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB †

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof In the first two, *gāyatrī* is the name of the meter, while *gāyatra* is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the *gāyatrī* (meter)' In the third, *gayatra* is the name of the sāman so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while *gāyatrī* may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, *vartani*, of the *gāyatra*-sāman [of the *gāyatrī*?]'), or as an appositional noun ('the *gāyatrī* [meter] as wheel')

vatsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihāguh AV *gāyatram vatsam anu tās ta āguh* TB
gāyatram chando anu samrabhadhvam MS *gāyatrīm chandāṅsy anu samrabhantām* KS ApŚ (Add to VV 1 §337) The latter means 'the *gāyatrī* (and the other) meters'

pāvamānasya (TS KS *pāvamānena*) *tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS °*tryā*) *vartanyā* TS MS KS See §586

pāvamānyah (ŚG °*nāh*) AG ŚG Sc *tṛpyantu* 'The pāvamānī hymns the (ṛṣis) of the p hymns'

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